CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

PROTO-MUNDA WORDS IN SANSKRIT

BY

F. B. J. KUIPER

VERHANDELING DER KONINKLIJKE NEDERLANDSCHE AKADEMIE VAN WETENSCHAPPEN, AFD. LETTERKUNDE

NIEUWE REEKS DEEL LI, No. 3

1948

N.V. NOORD-HOLLANDSCHE UITGEVERS MAATSCHAPPIJ
AMSTERDAM

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

PROTO-MUNDA WORDS IN SANSKRIT

BY

F. B. J. KUIPER

VERHANDELING DER KONINKLIJKE NEDERLANDSCHE AKADEMIE VAN WETENSCHAPPEN, AFD. LETTERKUNDE

NIEUWE REEKS DEEL LI, Nº. 3

1948

N.V. NOORD-HOLLANDSCHE UITGEVERS MAATSCHAPPIJ

AMSTERDAM

Kon. Ned. Akad. Wet., Verh. Afd. Letterk. Deel LI, No. 3, p. 1—176, 1948

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Aan Prof. Dr C. C. Uhlenbeck ter gelegenheid van zijn 80ste verjaardag in dankbaarheid en verering opgedragen.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

INTRODUCTION.

In the studies which have hitherto been published on the influence of the Austro-Asiatic languages on Sanskrit the foreign origin of the Sanskrit words was demonstrated mostly with the help of lexical materials taken from Further Indian, and even Indonesian, languages. This fact has given rise to the misconception that the majority of the Austro-Asiatic loanwords in Sanskrit have no etymological connexions in Munda, which, again, was explained by the supposed Uralian origin of the Munda family of speech [1]). In reality, however, the reason why Munda word-materials played such a small part in these studies was mainly the fact that the valuable information which they can furnish cannot be efficiently utilized without a preliminary historical and comparative study of these interesting languages, which indeed have developed into a type of language which is rather different from the original Austro-Asiatic one.

The object of the present study, which deals with the origin of some hundred Sanskrit and Prakrit words, is to show that the Austro-Asiatic source from which these Aryan words have been derived was actually the Proto-Munda branch of Austro-Asiatic. The introduction of the new term Proto-Munda is justified by the fact that, as early as the Vedic period, the Munda languages had departed considerably from the Austro-Asiatic type of language and developed a character of their own brought about by a number of dialectal phonetic changes and the introduction of suffixes in the word-formation. Both phenomena mark the beginning of a process of "Dravidization" of the Munda tongues which has ultimately given them the character of agglutinating languages and has thus contributed to the growth of the Indian linguistic league (*Sprachbund*). The earlier stages of this development, which are reflected by the Sanskrit loanwords, are here denoted by the general term Proto-Munda.

This book is a *ὕστερον πρότερον* inasmuch as circumstances have led to its separate publication prior to the appearance of "Munda and Proto-Munda", as an appendix to which it was originally conceived and whose conclusions it presupposes. Since the methods here developed may arouse doubts as to their soundness, I wish to emphasize the fact that they are the outcome of a comparative and analytical study of modern Munda. Not before they seemed to be firmly established have I proceeded to apply them to the foreign words of Aryan.

Among the morphological features of Proto-Munda the extensive use of prefixes (which in the modern dialects have ceased to be productive) deserves mention. As for the "sound-laws", they present unexpected

---

[1]) Cf. K. Régamey, Polski Biuletyn Orientalistyczny II (1938), pp. 34. 36.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

difficulties of fundamental interest. In the belief that Munda would show the same regularity of phonetic correspondences as found in Indo-European I have been led by the comparison of clearly related words to formulate a number of laws, e.g. the unvoicing of voiced stops, and the change of a cerebral phoneme (*ḍ*) to *d* (*t*), *ṛ*, *r*, *l*, etc., such variants as S. *bigo̱ bogo̱* ~ *piko̱ poko̱* "fat" or So. *dañ* ~ *rañ* "to obstruct" being explained as originating in different dialects. On these theories the following word-studies are still based. After the completion of this book, however, my views regarding the interpretation of the observed correspondence of sounds (the correctness of which is, I venture to think, beyond doubt) have fundamentally changed. The theory of dialect-mixture is, indeed, inadequate to account for the many variants of a word often found in Santali, as it would necessitate the inference that this language has some sixteen different "dialectal" representatives of *ḍ*, which vary even in one and the same word, *e.g.*, S. *ḍiḷa ḍale* ~ *liḍa laḍe* "to totter" (cf. Hi. *ṭhoṭ* ~ *ṭhos* ~ Skr. *śoṭha-*, etc.). Nor does the comparison with other Austro-Asiatic languages enable us to solve this problem for there we find the same interchange of voiced and unvoiced stops (e.g. Semang *deldul* ~ Sakai *teltûl* "heel", Prong *doṅ* ~ Semang *antoṅ* = M. Kh. *botoṅ*, So. *bâtoṅ* "to fear") [2] and a similar variation of *d*, *r*, *l*, *s* (see p. 133 with Add.). The inference that a free variation on a large scale (though within definite limits) was characteristic of Austro-Asiatic is inevitable. I accept, therefore, the explanation suggested by Professor C. C. Berg with regard to similar phenomena in Indonesian, viz. that the Austro-Asiatic consonantal system had a relatively small number of phonemes with a wide range of possible realizations, the following sounds, for instance,

$$\frac{d/t \sim dh/th \gtrsim r \sim j/c,\ s}{ḍ/ṭ \sim ḍh/ṭh \sim ṛ \sim {}^{*}ẓ/{}^{*}ṣ\ [3])} \sim y \sim l$$

originally having constituted one phoneme. On the strength of such suffixed forms as **kabal*, **kabaṛ*, **kapaṭ*, **kamac* (presupposing **kabaḍ* from *ka-ba*) [4], which cannot have been inherited from Austro-Asiatic as suffixation seems to have been introduced in Proto-Munda under Dravidian influence, we may infer that in Proto-Munda this phoneme still admitted the same variation, and the frequent occurrence of fully parallel expressions in Santali (e.g. *ḍo̱k ḍo̱ko̱* : *ro̱k ro̱ko̱* : *so̱k so̱ko̱* "projecting", *ḍiko̱ ḍo̱ko̱* : *liko̱ lo̱ko̱* "to be loose") is only intelligible if they are one and the same word which allowed a variable pronunciation of the phoneme *d/r/l* until a

---

[2]) Cf. also Kurt Wulff, Über des Verhältnis des Malayo-Polynesischen zum Indo-Chinesischen, Copenhagen 1942, p. 17 f.

[3]) Proto-Munda **ṣ* may be inferred from Skr. *māṣa-*, *kalmāṣa-*, *laṣva-*, *liṣva-*, *ṣaṅga-*, *ṣiṅga-*, *ṣaṇḍ(h)a-*. As for *h* from *dh* (cf. Hi. *hamew* p. 19, desi *hulhulia* p. 69) it is probably of comparatively recent date.

[4]) See p. 35 and cf. pp. 60, 157.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

late date [5]). The analogous phenomena in Dravidian (see p. 130) suggest a similar explanation. (Note the equivalence of *t/c* and *m/v* in the alliterating verses of the *mōṉaittoṭai*-type). On the other hand, the many Munda synonyms with varying initial gutturals, dentals and labials are not, in my opinion, due to sound-variation but to parallelism: they are rhyme-words (*e.g.*, S. *buṭṛạ* : *guṭṛạ, duṇḍgạ* : *muṇḍgạ*, pp. 99, 105, etc.).

Another Proto-Munda phenomenon inherited from prim. Austric is the nasalization and prenasalization of the consonants of a root. Thus *ba-da* (*wa-da*) may become *ba-nda, ba-na, ma-da, ma-nda, ma-na;* similarly *da-da* may occur as *da-n(d)a, na-da, na-n(d)a* [6]). Further may be noted the aspiration of consonants, the change *g/k* > *h* (*e.g.*, Skr. *Kekaya-* : *Haihaya-*) [7]), the loss of initial *h* (if this was a distinct phoneme at all), the variation *y* ~ *j* (*c, s*) and *w* ~ *b* (*p*), and the sporadic change of intervocalic *y* and *w* to *h* (cf. Nep. *ṭuhuro*, p. 75). Some of these phenomena have already been noticed in Indo-Aryan (see Turner, Introduction to his dictionary, p. XV and Festgabe-Jacobi 39, Chatterji 892 and *passim*).

Since moreover the vowels are largely interchangeable [8]), and since the Austro-Asiatic (and Proto-Munda) prefixation has left many traces in the lexical materials of present-day Munda, the derivatives from one and the same root have often widely divergent forms; e.g. Skr. *tuṇḍa-* and *cañcu-* from *da-da, veṇī-, kabarī-* and *āpīḍa-* from *wa-da, jaṅgāla-* and Hi. *aṛaṅgā, ṭhek* and *roknā* from *da-ga*, Hi. *aṛnā* (?), *huṛkā* and Nep. *taghāro* from *ga-da*, Hi. *jhagṛā, aṛaṅg* and S. *etraṅ* from *da-ga*. From the point of view of methodology this is, I think, the chief difficulty of these investigations, as by a purely mechanical application of the "sound-laws" nearly everything can be demonstrated. This fact strongly diminishes the stringency of etymological explanations (which even in other fields of study, as for instance Indo-European linguistics, are so often unconvincing). A careful collection of many cognate Munda words is essential in order to determine the original Munda root, and an equally careful comparison of their meanings is often needed to attain in our results the

---

[5]) The consonantal and vocalic variation is mainly found in word-groups whose meaning is associated with special sensorial or emotional ideas, e.g. "fat, swollen, pregnant", "projecting" (see s.vv. *picchā-, śikhā-, śuṇḍā-* and cf. the words relating to what is known as the " castration-complex" of Western man: *daṇḍā-, baṇḍā-, jāṅgala-, śuṇṭhā-*). Words for "hand", (So. *s'ī-*, Kh. M. *tī'*, S. K. *tī* ~ Besisi *tīh*, Sakai *tihi*), "ploughing" (S. M. Kh. *si* ~ Palaung *thai*, Mon *thoa*), "day" (S. *siṅ*, M. *siṅgi*, K. *siṅ-* ~ Khasi *sṅi, Palaung shạ-ṅī* ~, Khmer *thṅaiy*, Mon *tañoa*), "oil" (S. M. K. *sunum* ~ Senoi *sĕnum*, Tibetan *nūm*), "tree" (S. *siṅ*, M. *siṅ*, K. *ćiṅ, tsiṅ, śiṅ, sīnj* ~ Khasi *diṅ*, Palaung *tīṅ*, and in Tibeto-Burman: Khimi *thiṅ*, ~ Mamba *śiṅ-śe*, Abor *eśiṅ, śiṅ*, Tibetan *śiṅ*, etc.) hardly vary at all.

[6]) For a full discussion of this phenomenon see "Munda and Indonesian", an article to be published in "Orientalistische Bijdragen, Herdenkingsbundel van het Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland".

[7]) Cf. Lüders, Philologia Indica 108, n. 4.

[8]) The symbol *a* in Proto-Munda roots denotes a variable vowel.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

highest possible degree of certainty and to avoid that such etymological studies degenerate into a mere play with formulae. I do not pretend that the following articles fully answer to this standard [9]). Nevertheless, as a first attempt at a methodical treatment of these questions they may have some interest in spite of their inevitable shortcomings. Those, to whom such an attempt would appear premature, may be reminded of Hugo Schuchardt's words: "Die Wissenschaft wäre nie vorgeschritten, hätte sie nicht vorgegriffen".

The main conclusions to be drawn from the present word-studies may be briefly summarized as follows: 1) A very considerable amount (say some 40 %) of the NIA. vocabulary is borrowed from Munda, either via Sanskrit (and Prakrit), or via Prakrit alone, or directly from Munda. 2) Wide-branched, and seemingly native, word-families of South Dravidian are of Proto-Munda origin. (The existence of isolate Munda words in separate Dravidian languages, as Telugu and the Northern Dravidian dialects, has never been questioned.) 3) In Vedic and later Sanskrit, the words adopted have often been Aryanized, resp. Sanskritized. The criteria applied by the Vedic language were of course most stringent: *ḍ, ṭ, ṇ* were not "rein-Arisch" and often became *d, t, n*; *l* was changed to *r*, and perhaps *b* was sometimes changed into *p* (on the analogy of Pkt. *b* = Vedic *p*), see *tūparáʻ*. The elimination of cerebrals is also found in later Sanskrit (as against Hi. *ṭ* in younger borrowings), just as the substitution of *r* for Proto-Munda *ṛ*. 4) As the development of Munda has been slower than that of Aryan, the aspect of many modern Munda words does not apparently differ much from their Proto-Munda original. Hence NIA. words, directly borrowed from Munda, often reflect more faithfully their originals than the Sanskrit words do, cf., e.g., Hi. *kubaṛ, kubṛā*: Skr. *kubhra-* (S. *kubḍhạ*), Hi. *poṭā*: Skr. *pota-* "young of an animal", Hi. *pūṭh*: Skr. *pŭta-* "buttock", etc. In such cases, the NIA. form of the word points to a more recent borrowing (cf. Nep. *tumbo* which cannot be derived from Skr. *tumba-*).

Besides the difficulties pertaining to the Austro-Asiatic prehistory of Munda there is another problem, still more difficult perhaps, which arises from the close interrelations between Mundas and Dravidians extending over at least 4000 years. Since the phonetical developments of both families of speech run strikingly parallel, and since the words which they have adopted from each other, may have come to be treated as native words at a very early date, phonology and morphology do not often afford sufficient criteria to determine the origin of a word or word-group. The problems resulting from this situation perhaps belong to the most complicated which the student of historical and comparative linguistics has to solve. I have not eschewed a discussion of these questions whenever this was essential,

[9]) I had to write these studies without the aid of many indispensable dictionaries. I particularly regret that those for Marathi (by Molesworth) and Prakrit (by Sheth) and the 'Encyclopaedia Mundarica' were inaccessible to me.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

although the solutions here proposed must necessarily be provisional. See, e.g., *śuṇḍā-*, *khaḍga-*, *khora-*, *cipiṭa-*, S. *toponḍ* (p. 92), and particularly p. 105 f. Somewhat different are the difficulties arising from the many Munda reborrowings from Aryan. For the purposes of the following studies this question is however of minor importance if the ultimate Munda origin of the words concerned is warranted by phonological or morphological characteristics.

This book necessarily deals only with the influence which Munda has exercized on the other linguistic families of India. This is, however, only one aspect of a wider problem. Many studies from different points of view will be needed before we can arrive at a right evaluation of the rôle which each of these families has played in the genesis of the Indian linguistic league. In view of the intensive interrelations between Dravidian, Munda and Aryan dating from pre-Vedic times even individual etymological questions will often have to be approached from a Pan-Indic point of view if their study is to be fruitful. It is hoped that this work may be helpful to arrive at this all-embracing view of the Indian languages, which is the final goal of these studies.

My sincere thanks are due to Mrs. B. M. Koch–Thomas, who has corrected the English text, to Mr. Alfred Master, who was kind enough to read part of the proof-sheets and to whom I am indebted for some useful suggestions and corrections, and to my pupil Mr. A. P. Kelder, who has undertaken the task of preparing the Index.

Nearly half a century has passed since Professor Uhlenbeck published his etymological dictionary of Sanskrit. Although much has since been done in this field, the majority of the very large number of words there labelled as "unexplained" still await explanation, and many explanations there given require reconsideration. May this little book, dedicated to my venerated *guru* on the occasion of his 80th birthday, show him that, although the progress made in these studies since 1899 is not perhaps spectacular, still it is hoped that the number of obscure words, even of those which have hitherto defied all attempts at explanation, will gradually be reduced.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

ABBREVIATIONS.

Most of the abbreviations used in the present work do not require special notice. The following may be noted:

Bhaduri = A Munda-English Dictionary by Manindra Bhusan Bhaduri, Calcutta University Press 1931.

Bloch = J. Bloch, La formation de la langue marathe, Paris 1919.

Bodding = P. O. Bodding, A Santal Dictionary, Oslo 1929—1932.

Böhtlingk (or pw.) = Otto Böhtlingk, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung, St. Petersburg 1879—1889.

Campbell = A. Campbell, A Santali-English Dictionary, Pokhuria 1899 (2nd ed. A Santali-English and English-Santali Dictionary, ed. by R. M. Macphail, 1933).

Chatterji = Suniti Kumar Chatterji, The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, Calcutta Univ. Press 1926.

Geiger = W. Geiger, Pali, Literatur und Sprache (Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research, vol. I, fasc. 7), Strassburg 1916.

Pischel = R. Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen (Encyclopaedia I, 8), Strassburg 1900.

Rakhal Das Haldar = Babu R.D.H., An Introduction to the Mundâri Language, Journ. As. Soc. Beng. vol. XL, part I, pp. 46—67 (Calcutta 1871).

Schmidt, Nachtr. = R. Schmidt, Nachträge zum Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung von Otto Böhtlingk, Leipzig 1928.

Schmidt, MKV. = W. Schmidt, Die Mon-Khmer-Völker, Ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens und Austronesiens, Brunswick 1906.

Turner = R. L. Turner, A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language, London 1931.

Uhlenbeck = C. C. Uhlenbeck, Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch der altindischen Sprache, Amsterdam 1898/1899.

Wackernagel = J. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik, Göttingen (I, 1896; II, 1, 1905; III, 1930).

Walde-Pokorny = Alois Walde, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen, herausgeg. und bearb. von Julius Pokorny, Berlin und Leipzig 1930.

The Indian languages are denoted by the following symbols:

Munda:		Aryan:		Dravidian:	
Bh.	= Birhor.	Ass.	= Assamese.	Tam.	= Tamil.
GB.	= Gadaba of Bastar.	Beng.	= Bengali.	Tel.	= Telugu.
GV.	= id. of Vizegapatam.	Guj.	= Gujarati.	Kann.	= Kannada.
J.	= Juang.	Hi.	= Hindi.		
K.	= Kurku.	Kshm.	= Kashmiri.		
Kh.	= Kharia.	Kum.	= Kumaoni.		
Kw.	= Korwa.	Lhd.	= Lahnda.		
M.	= Mundari.	Mar.	= Marathi.		
N.	= Nahali.	Or.	= Oriya.		
S.	= Santali.	Panj., Pj.	= Panjabi.		
So.	= Sora (Savara).	Si.	= Sindhi.		
		Sgh.	= Singhalese.		

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

1. *a r ā l a-* "crooked, bowed, curled (hair)".

In common use since the Epics. As Pali *aḷāra-* shows, it stands for **arāḷa-*. The older form of the word occurs in *arāḍa-* "long-horned" (Maitr. S. 2, 5, 9, p. 59, 17) and in *arāḍ́itara-* "having very long horns" (S'at. Br. 4, 5, 5, 5). As for *arāḍyàu* Taitt. S. 5, 6, 21, 1, (*ucchritaśṛṅga-* Sāy.), for which most authorities assume an adj. *arāḍyà-*, Tarapada Chowdhury, JBORS 17 (1931), 37, n. 2, explains it as a fem. dual of *arāḍ́ī-*. The sense of these Vedic words is due to the fact that curved horns are usually long. Inversely, S. *ḍaeka* "wide-spreading and very long with an upward turn at the end (buffalo's horns)" is a derivative from *ḍa-ya* "tall"; cf. *laya* "having horns standing wide out" where the notion "curved" is not implied. Tarapada Chowdhury's inference that *arāḍa-*, as being contrasted with *tūparā-* "hornless", must simply mean "horned" is not cogent. In the late Yaśastilaka *arāla-* is incidentally used in the sense "long" (*arālakālam*, comm.: *pracura-kālaparyantam*, see Schmidt, Nachtr.), which must be an imitation of the Vedic usage.

Cf. S. *laḍea*, *laṛea* "crooked, bent, slanting (tree, stick)", *laḍe* "slanting, leaning to one side", M. *lāṛeā* "crooked, bent", *leḍhā*, id., *lidu* "to bend" (for **liḍu*, cf. S. *liṛwạ* "to bend over, backwards or downwards" from **liḍu-a; leṛwa laṛve, leṛwak'* "to incline to one side, reel"); S. *laṛa* "having horns bending down forwards, having the comb hanging down on one side", M. *leṛā* "curved (said of horns of animals)". So far as I know, variants with initial *r* or *ḍ* do not exist; so we are led to assume a root *la-ḍa*. But the Vedic language tends to eliminate in the Proto-Munda loan-words such sounds as are considered characteristic of Prakrit and the vulgar forms of speech, cf. Ved. *udumbára-* for *uḍumbara-*, *daṇḍá-* for **ḍaṇḍa-*. In the same way **a-lāḍa-* (and **a-lāḍiya-*: S. *laḍea*?) may have been changed into *arāḍa-*. If so, Pali *aḷāra-* must be due to metathesis (although Lüders, Philologia Indica 560, for reasons which he did not mention, held this to be the older form of the word).

If, however, *arāḍa-* is a Proto-Munda word we may further connect with it *arāṭakī-*, which occurs in Ath. S. 4, 37, 6

ajaśṛṅgy àrāṭakī tīkṣṇaśṛṅgī vy `ṛṣatu.

The Paippalāda variant *ajaśṛṅgi rāṭakām, ajaśśṛṅgi rāṭaky* (cf. Le Roy Carr Barret, JAOS 48, p. 42) is obviously worthless. Whitney's translation "let the goat-horned *arāṭakī*, the sharp-horned, push out" is based on the supposition that *arāṭakī* is a specific name of a herb, whereas the commentator takes it as an epithet (though from his nonsensical interpretation it is evident that he did not know its meaning).

In the later language *ajaśṛṅgī* is the name of the *Odina pinnata*. Since in

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

v. 2 of our hymn it occurs in the vocative in an address to the plant, we must assume that it had already become a specific name as early as the Vedic period. Accordingly *arāṭakī* is probably to be taken as an adjectival epithet (see Add.). Now the *ajaśṛṅgī* is also called *viṣāṇin-, viṣāṇikā-, meṣaśṛṅgī-* on account of the shape of the fruit (see Whitney's and Lanman's notes on v. 2). For the same reason it is obviously called here "the curved one" or "the curved horn". An etymological connexion with *arāla-* had already been supposed by BR. The word is of particular interest in that it shows the unvoicing of medial sonants to date back to the Saṁhitā-period. A different explanation has been given by Tarapada Chowdhury, op. c., p. 36 ff., who derives *arāṭa-* from *arā-* "spokes", *ala-* "sting of the scorpion (or, of an insect in general)", *ārā-* "awl", etc., all denoting something pointed. But derivation from Aryan words by means of *-ṭa-* (which has hardly been cerebralized through the influence of the neighbouring *r-* sound) is only met with in later periods of the language. As for *ala-* (*aḍa-*!) see Lüders, Philologia Indica 430; *ārā-* is generally connected with Old High German *âla* and has *r* from IE. *l*.

2. *argaḍa-* "obstacle; class. bolt, bar".

Since S'at. Br. *sārgaḍa-* (Kāṇva rec. *sārgala-*), see Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, 221 f. (who writes *argaḍá-*). The connexion with Old Engl. *reced*, Old Saxon *rakud* "house, palace, temple" (see Uhlenbeck, Walde–Pokorny I, 81) is unacceptable both on account of the semantic difference and because of the suffix *-ḍa-* which we should then have to assume for a Vedic word. This also excludes a connexion with Ved. *ṛkṣálā-* (*ṛcchárā-, accharā-, acchálā-, atsárā-*) "fetter". The original meaning of the word (which, in the later language, denotes the wooden pin of a door, cf. S'āṅkh. Ār. 2, 16 *argaleṣīke* "the pin and bar of the door of a cow-pen") must have been "hindrance, impediment", cf. Beng. *āgal* "restraint" (: *āgaṛ* "hurdle"). Skr. lex. *gaḍa-, gaṇḍaka-* "obstacle" (*antarāyaḥ*), and buddh. Skr. *nirgaḍa-* "without impediment, blameless" argue in favour of an analysis *ar* + *gaḍa-*. Cf. Pa. *ghaṭīyati* "is obstructed" (*ghaṭikā-* "a bolt"? See Kern, Toevoegselen, 1, 130; otherwise PTS Dict.).

The root *gaḍ-* is actually met with in the following Santali words: *gaṛ gaṛao* "to detain, restrain, beset, keep", *guḍ guḍaṛu* "to beset, detain, restrain", *gur gur* "to restrain, deprive of freedom", perhaps also *gaṇḍ* "a cross-ridge", *gaṇḍ gaṇḍ* "across, transversely", *gaṇḍe* "across, athwart, transverse, at right angles" (cf. Ho *gāṇḍi* "obstruction, obstacle"), *ganaḍe, gaṇaḍe* "the cross-bars of a bedstead, the two short bars of a door-frame, etc." (derivative from **gaḍe?*), *akoṭ* "hindrance, obstruction, obstacle, to check, stop, detain, etc." (possibly influenced by *aṭok*, id., from *ḍa-ka*). Cf. So. *iṅad* "to close (door)"?

The assumption of a root word **gaḍa* is supported by Nep. *ghāro* "bar, rod, pole, cross-beam, ridge-pole", *tagāro, taghāro* "bar, bolt" (wrongly

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Turner s.v.), perhaps also Beng. *tãgaḍ* "to bind the feet", which has been Sanskritized as *tryaṅkaṭa-*, *tryaṅgaṭa-*, m. "Ein Schulterjoch mit drei von jedem Ende herabhängenden Stricken zum Tragen von Lasten" (see Chatterji 887). Grierson, Bihar Peasant Life § 1250, mentions (besides *āgal*, *āgar*, *agrī*, the general names for a wooden bar used for fastening the door) the following local terms: *gharkā* "a kind of bolt" (in South Munger), *hurkā* "the bolt of the lock", and *aṛkhaṛ* "the spar that supports the screen or hurdle used for a door" (South-East Bihar). The first of these words apparently presupposes **gaṛ-ak* < **gaḍ-ak*, cf. Beng. *khiṛkī* "window, back-door" (< Pkt. *khaḍakkī-*, Bloch 319, Chatterji 498). As for the second word (cf. Hi. *huṛuk*, *huṛkā* "bar or bolt of a door", Beng. *huṛkā*, id., Sanskritized *huḍukka-*, m., id., in the S'abdaratnāvalī), it is clearly a Munda loanword, as S. *huṛkaṛ* "a wooden bar for a door, a shackle, gyve (on the leg of buffaloes), to bar, to shut with a bar" is a derivative from S. *huṛaṛ* = *haṛi* "to shackle, gyve, to fetter, put in the stocks, chain (the feet), detain". It presupposes an original **guḍ-uk*, parallel to **gaḍ-ak*. In S. *hurkaṛ* "the wooden bar or bolt (of a door), to shut with a bar" two dialectal variants of the same word are combined to form an "echo-word" (which is a very common phenomenon in Santali), unless *huṛkaṛ* has been extended with *-ṛ*, and has then been interpreted as an echo-word. S. *karhaṛ* "a kind of gate with movable bars (at the entrance to cattle-sheds)" may be explained in the same way. The third word, viz. *aṛkhaṛ* "the spar that supports the door inside", may be identified with S. *aṛgaṛa* "a cattle-pound, prison, difficulty" (whence Beng. *āṛgaṛā* "stables", which Chatterji 497 records among words of prob. *deśī* origin) on the supposition that the original meaning is "*vraja-*". Probably *aṛ-* stands for **haṛ-* < *kaṛ-* < *gaṛ-* (cf. s.v. *ākula-*); it thus coincides with the Dravidian root *aḍ-*, *aṛ-* "to obstruct" (cf. Hi. *aṛ* "obstruction, bar", *āṛnā* "to stop", etc., Pashto *ăṛ* "hindrance", see Turner, BSOS 5, 123, Chatterji 497, Burrow, Transactions Philol. Soc. 1945, 79 f.).

It might seem plausible to regard Skr. *argaḍa-* as an earlier reflex of the same Proto-Munda word, which now has become *aṛgaṛa* in Munda, and has again been borrowed into Aryan as *aṛkhaṛ* and *āṛgaṛā*. There is however another possibility, viz. that *ar-* is the well-known variant of the prefix *a-* (cf. *kar-* : *ka-*, *śar-* : *śa-*, etc.), which is found, e.g., in *arbuda-* (see s.v. *piccha-*). Our materials do not allow us to decide this question. Note also Skr. lex. *varkuṭa-*, m. "pin, bolt", which Wilson quotes from a lexic. work.

In conclusion we may observe that S. *huṛkaṛ* denotes both a bar and a gyve. Hence *nigaḍa-*, n. "chain for the feet, fetter", cannot well be separated from *argaḍa-*. On the other hand, it would seem to belong to the affiliation of *śṛṅkhalā-* "chain, fetter", which suggests an original meaning "to bind" rather than "to detain, bar, gyve". If these two word-families

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

are ultimately identical. Toda *tagārs* "chain" would be interesting on account of Nep. *tagāro* "bolt". See s.v. *śṛṅkhalā-* [1]).

3. *ākula-* "confounded, confused, agitated, anxious, overburdened with, full of".

This word is still unexplained. The Pet. Dict. tentatively suggested some connexion with *kirati*, but Hindi *kulkulī* "restlessness" seems rather to point to Munda origin. On the other hand, Tam. *maṅkulam* "cloudiness, murkiness; perturbation, confusion of mind" looks like a Munda loan-word which is derived from the same root [2]). The question arises, then, whether Pkt. *maülī* "disturbance or upsetting of the heart" (*hṛdayarasocchalanam*, Deśīn. 6, 115) is derived from **makulī* (with the same prefix as is contained in the Tamil word). In addition, Skr. *kalila-* "covered with, full of; confusion, chaos" may be connected with these words.

The common meaning of all these words is "confusion, agitation" which reminds us of So. *kalkál* "difficult, agitated". In Santali there are a great many words derived from *gaḍ* (*gal, kal, hal, al*) which convey the sense "confused, disorderly", cf. *gāḍ baḍ* "confusion, disorder, confused, mixed", *gaḍbaḍao* "to put into disorder or confusion, make a mess of", *gaḍbe saḍbe* "in disorder, to muddle, confuse", *gọḍ buḍi, gọḍ bọḍ* "to confuse, come to no conclusion", *gaḍọe saḍọe* "mixed, mingled, confused, to mix", *gạḍui sạḍui*, id., *gul gulạu* "to make a disturbance, commotion, confusion", *gul gul* "disturbed, hurly-burly", *gul mal* "noise, tumult, uproar, disturbance, confusion", *gul malao* "to disturb, disarrange", *galọc' salọc', gạluc' sạluc', gạlui sạlui* "confusedly", *kalọk' baṭọk'* "restlessly, uneasily, to be restless", *laṛ khaṛao* "to be in a hurry, restless, eager", *hal bal* "restless, turbulent, troublesome, meddlesome", *halo balo*, id. [3]), *hul mal* "disturbance, riot, uproar, tumult, to make do.", *ulmal* "confusedly, to perplex, confuse", *ulmalao* "to disorder, confuse, stir up, bring into commotion", *alaṭ' oloṭ'* "bewildered, abashed, to confuse, bewilder", *alaṭ' bakaṭ'* "to confuse, bewilder, nonplus", etc. [4]).

Several of the words quoted above are "echo-words" composed of derivatives from *gaḍ* and *baḍ* (*bal, mal*). They have also been adopted

---

[1]) Note Nep. *pagāro* "rope, tether", which Turner derives from **pragrahaḍa-*. The Munda evidence now available however hardly supports its derivation from *ga-ḍa* (but cf. Beng. *tãgaḍ* "to bind the feet"). Its etymology must be left undecided.

[2]) Not certain, cf. Tam. *maṅkul* "cloud" and *maiyā-* "to become dim, to be perplexed".

[3]) In *kalo balo* "to become loquacious, to get tipsy, talk incoherently" there is contamination with *gal* "talkative". M. *ukul-bukul* "to be uneasy and anxious" is ambiguous, cf. S. *ikil sikil, ikiṛ sikiṛ, ikiṭ' sikiṭ'* "restless, troublesome" (root *ak-* or blending? See below). S. *bokol bokol, bọkọl bọkọl, bẹkẹl bẹkẹl, bikọl bọkọl* "muddy, turbid" are prob. unrelated (cf. Pkt. *bahalaṁ*). Is the meaning of Skr. *vikala-* "depressed, sad, unwell", Hi. *bikal* "restless, uneasy, troubled" due to contamination with a Proto-Munda word?

[4]) Cf. Pkt. *halabola-*, m. "confused noise" (*kalakalaḥ*, Deśīn. 8, 64).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

by some NIA. languages, cf. Nep. *alamalla* "perplexed, troubled, perplexity, trouble", *almal* "delay, confusion, perplexity", *almalinu* "to be confused, puzzled, detained", *ulmāl* "confusion, chaos", *hulhāl, hul, hullaṛ* "riot, disturbance", *gulmāl, golmāl, gulmul* "tumult, uproar", Hi. *halbal* "tumult, commotion, confusion" (also *halphal*), *haṛbaṛī*, "id., uproar, mutiny", *haṛbaṛānā* "to be agitated", *khalbal* "confusion, commotion, agitation, tumult", *kharb(h)ar, khaṛbaṛ*, id., *khalbalānā* (*khadbadānā*) "to boil, bubble, be agitated, be in a state of commotion" (see Bloch 317). Cf. S. *gaṛ baṛ = gaḍ baḍ* "confusion, disorder, etc.". More complicated is the origin of Hi. *ghabrānā* "to be confused, perplexed, agitated", *ghābar, ghābrā* "confused" (by the side of *gaṛbaṛ* "confusion, disorder, tumult", *gaṛbaṛānā* "to be confused"). Turner (s.v. *ghabrāunu*) derives them from **ghabb(h)ara-*. This may represent Skr. **gharbhara-* (from *Proto*-Munda *gaṛbaṛ*), but perhaps we have to do with a contamination of roots, which is peculiar to Munda (see s.vv. *kubja-* and *tumula-*), cf. S. *gabaḍ, gabḍhao* "to be mixed up with", *gabaṛ* "mixed, impure", from *gab-* (*gabuc' sabuc'* "to mix up, make a mess of, confuse", *gabao* "to make water muddy") but influenced by *gaḍbaḍ* [5]).

In some of the derivatives from *gaḍ-* the sense of "confusion" has developed to that of "tumult, uproar". The question thus arises whether Skr. *kalaha-* "strife, quarrel" belongs to this group of words. The Tamil Lexicon gives for *kalakam* the following meanings: "strife, quarrel, wrangle, altercation, uproar, tumult, insurrection, revolt, rebellion, etc.". In an early publication (in ZII 8, 241) I have connected it with Greek *κόλαφος* "box on the ear", and W. Schulze, KZ. 45, 288, n. 1, similarly derived it, with some reserve, from **kaladha-* and compared Latvian *kilda*. A more profound study of non-Aryan languages drew my attention to other possible explanations. It is tempting to compare Tam. *kala-* "to mix, blend, compound", *kalakku-* "to confuse, nonplus", *kalaṅku-* "to be stirred up, agitated, to be confused", *kalatai* "confusion, tumult, turmoil", *kallal, kalal* "disturbance, confusion, tumult", Tel. *kalaṅgu-* "to be in trouble, grief, disorder or confusion", *kalancu-* "to put in agitation, make turbid, embarrass", *kalata* "trouble, perplexity, dispute, squabble", *kalaka* "trouble, perturbation, foulness, sin", *kalacu-* "to trouble, disconcert, disorder", etc. Their native Dravidian character is, it seems, beyond doubt [6]). If however

[5]) Among the meanings of Hi. *bigāṛ* we find "disorder, disarrangement, disturbance, confusion, rebellion, revolt, mutiny" and for *bigaṛnā* Platts gives also "to get out of order, be disordered, tossed, disarranged, to quarrel, rebel, revolt". Cf. Hi. *agaṛ bagaṛ* "confusion, medley, mess, mixed, confused", *igar digar* "disordered, disarranged, spoiled, injured" (: S. *agaṛ bagaṛ, agaṛ bigaṛ, agar digaṛ*). The question arises whether *bigaṛ-, bagaṛ* is also a derivative from *gaḍ-*; if so, S. *sigic' bigic'* "disordered, disarrranged" must be a secondary alteration of *sigiṛ bigiṛ* "in confusion" (as is often the case with jingles). Contamination of form and meaning plays an important part in such expressions.

[6]) Tel. *galibili* "disorder, confusion" (*gal* + *bal*l) and *galagincu-* "to stir, mix, mingle, confuse" must however be Munda loanwords as the Dravidian root seems to have an ancient *k* (Kann. *kalasu*, Tulu *kala* etc.).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Skr. *kalaha-* were a Dravidian loan, the *h* would point to Kannada, where intervocalic *-pp-* has become *h* (via *-p-*) about 1000 A.D. (the earliest instances of *h* occurring in 1004, see A. N. Narasimhia, BSOS 8, 674). Since *kalahin-* is attested as early as the Chānd. Upan. and the Gṛhya-Sūtras (Āśv. GS., Jaim. GS.) this explanation is apparently excluded. (After this had been written I found that Burrow, BSOAS 11, 133, n. 1, actually derives *kalaha-* from this Dravidian root, without explaining, however, the origin of Skr. *h*). For the same reason *-ha-* cannot be explained as a Prakritism [7]). On the other hand, *-ha-* is a very common suffix in Santali, and most of the Sanskrit and Prakrit words which contain this formative element are likely to be Proto-Munda loanwords (cf. *laḍaha-*). Hence, like Mar. *kaḷ*, Nep. *kal* "quarrel", *kalaha-* is probably to be connected with *kalila-* and *ākula-*. Note S. *gonḍogol* "tumult, uproar, hubbub, quarrel" (Beng. id.), which is an "echo-word" composed of two different derivatives from *ga-ḍa* (as is very often the case in Santali), and Kh. *kole* "to quarrel". On the other hand, Pkt. *halahala-*, n. "tumult, curiosity" (*tumulaḥ kautukaṁ ca*, Deśīn. 8, 74) and Mar. *haḷhāḷ* "restlessness" (Bloch 428) are no "echo-words" in the proper sense of the word, as the two components are not (or only slightly) different. Like Skr. *kolāhala-*, m. "confused cry, uproar" (< Proto-Munda **kola hala*), they corroborate our explanation of *kalaha-*.

4. *āṭopa-*, m. "puffing up, pride, self-conceit".

1. The meaning "puffing up, flatulency" since Mhbh., Suśr. (cf. *phaṭāṭopa-* Pañcat.); the meaning "pride" since Mṛcch. The primary sense is "swelling" ("Aufbauschung, Anschwellung", Pet. Dict.), cf. Nep. *ṭuppinu* "to be puffed up with pride" (contaminated with *ṭuppinu* "to grow to a top", *ṭuppo* "top"). Since Hi. *ṭipor* "vaunting, boasting", *ṭippas* "conceit, pride, haughtiness, arrogance" (Nep. *ṭipor* "pride, conceit, self-glorification", etc.) point to a non-Aryan origin, it is possible that *śopha-*, m. "tumor, sore" (Suśr., Kathās.) should be separated from *śotha-*, m. "swelling, tumefaction" (Suśr., Caraka), with which it is generally connected on the supposition of a common derivation from *śū-* "to be swollen".

Āṭopa-, whose initial vowel may be a Proto-Munda prefix (cf. *a-ḫganā-*, *ā-ndolayati*), is a derivative from the root *ḍa-wa* or *ḍa-ba* "globular, thick, swollen", derivatives of which are enumerated s.vv. *udumbára-*, *ḍimb(h)a-*, and *dāḍima-*. Cf. especially S. *ṭub ṭubu* "distended (stomach), visibly pregnant", *ḍum ḍum* "having a swollen, protruding stomach", *ḍumkạ* "roundish" and *dhọmọk* "haughtiness, arrogance, conceit, pride". This explanation is supported by such variants as Hi. *ḍimbh* "pride, vanity, affectation", Tam. *tempu* "physical strength, daring, bravery, arrogance,

---

[7]) For the few Pkt. instances (*puttaha-*, etc.) see Pischel § 206 and A. Master, BSOAS 11, 299.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

pride, energy" [8]) (: *timili, timmali* "a stout, strong woman"), *ṭampam, iṭampam* "pomposity, ostentation", Kann. *ḍabbu, ḍamb(h)a, dambha,* id. (: *dubba* "a man with a large belly, a very stout man", *doppa* "thickness", *dappa* "thickness, stoutness, coarseness"). Hi. *dambh* "deceit, trickery feigning, hypocrisy, pride, haughtiness, arrogance" (cf. *dambhī* "deceitful, hypocritical, proud, arrogant", Nep. *dambhī* "proud") seems accordingly to be a contamination of Skr. *dambha-* "deceit, fraud, hypocrisy" and a Proto-Munda word. A confirmation of this conclusion is provided by Mar. *jambha* = Tam. *jampam* "affectation, overwheening pride, pomp, ostentation" (Tel. *jambhamu*, Kann. *jamba, jambha*) and, on the other hand, by Hi. *ṭīp-ṭāp* "ornament, decoration, pomp, show, ostentation, splendour, magnificence", *ṭīm-ṭām* "dress, show, ostentation" (: *thamṛā* "thick, corpulent", *ḍhappū* "bulky, fat, corpulent", Nep. *ḍhabbu*, etc.), *dhūm* "(noise, bustle, tumult), display, parade, pomp, ado", *dhūm-dhām*, id., Nep. *ṭham-ṭham* "strutting, arrogance, display, smartness of appearance", *ʔṭām-ṭum* "display, ostentation, appearances", Mar. *ṭām-ṭūm* "display", *tam* "proud swelling", *tamṇē* "to bluster", Beng. *tam* "pride", Nep. *tamak* "conceit, pride, haughtiness" (cf. S. *dhọmọk!*). In view of these words Pkt. *maḍapphara-*, m. "pride" (*garvaḥ*, Deśīn. 6, 120) and *malampia-* "proud, haughty" (*garvī*, Deśīn. 6, 121) may possibly be derived from the same root (prefix *ma-*?). Cf. also Skr. lex. *heramba-* "ein auf seinen Heldenmut pochender Mann" (Hemac., Med.; for prefix *he-* see p. 66) and Hi. *hamew* "vanity, arrogance, pride" (with $h < dh$?).

2. A serious difficulty arises from the fact that many words are contaminations of two or more different words. Skr. *āḍambara-*, m. is particularly difficult for this reason. It is partly a synonym of *āṭopa-*, but it has been fused (like Hi. *dhūm*) with a word meaning "noise" (hence the inexact rendering "lärmvolles Benehmen, Wortschwall", etc. in the Pet. Dict.). The commentaries regard both words as synonymous, e.g., Yaśastil. 1, 175, 1 *kalaraṇatkāñcīlayāḍambaram* (: comm. *āṭopaḥ*), Varadāmbikāpariṇayacampū 52, 8, where the modern comm. renders *āṭopaḥ* by *āḍambaraḥ*. Cf. Tam. *āṭamparam* "pomp and show, ostentation", Tel. *āḍambaramu* "pomp, grandeur, vain display, abortive arrogance", Kann. *āḍambara* "ostentation, display, pomp, pride", Hi. *āḍambar* "noise and bustle, arrogance, pride, ostentation", etc. A similar meaning is sometimes found in the Skr. literature, e.g. Bhāminī-Vilāsa 1, 3 *Dhātaḥ kiṁ nu vidhau vidhātum ucito dhārādharāḍambaraḥ* "en un tel moment convient-il, ô Créateur! que le nuage déploie tout cet appareil contre la lune" (Bergaigne), 1, 113 *nirguṇo śobhate naiva vipulāḍambaro 'pi nā* "Quand

---

[8]) These meanings recall Skr. *darpa-*, m. "extravagance, petulance, temerity, arrogance" (and, no doubt, *Kandarpa-*, m. "love, god of love"). It cannot yet be decided whether these words represent **ḍa-r-ba* (cf. *carpaṭa-*, Pashto *drabəl*, from **ḍa-wa* "to press down", p. 58 and cf. Turner s.v. *dapkāunu*).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

il est sans vertus, l'homme ne brille pas (d'un éclat solide), quelque appareil pompeux qu'il déploie"; Gopālakeli 53, 4—5

nirviṣṭā(?)girinirjharā ravisarit tīrāvaṭāḍambarā [9])
dhvāntakrāntatamālakānanabhuvo jhillīravālīśayāḥ,

and 60, 5 *pītāmbarāḍambaraḥ*, which Caland leaves unexplained in the index (on p. 16 he tentatively translates "in geel gewaad gekleed (?)"). Cf. the similar expression *pravilasatpītāṁśuka-* (65, 6), and e.g. *bhūṣitaṁ pītavāsasā* Brahmavaiv. Pur. 4, 20, 33. More than a century ago, indeed, Troyer, in his edition of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, vol. I, p. 419 (1840), added the meaning „vêtement, ornement" to those provided by Wilson and translated *nirāḍambarasundara-* as "beau sans ornement" (Rājat. 2, 125). His authorities were the pandits of Calcutta. The Pet. Dict. however quotes this passage in illustration of the meaning "lärmvolles Benehmen, Posaunen" (vol. V, 1095). However that may be, *āḍambara-* and *ḍambara-* are more than once combined with words for "dress", e.g. Kathās. 71, 130 *sākṣasūtrājinajaṭaṁ tāpasīveṣaḍambaraṁ* (*vidhāya ... sā*), which rather means "imposing dress" than "Gewirre, Menge, Masse" (Pet. Dict. V, 1456); Vikramāṅkadevac. 3, 76 *luṇṭākaluptanikhalāmbaraḍambarāṇām ... purāṅganānām* (of Kāñcī, after the plundering).

With Harṣacar. 98, l. 4 from the bottom (ed. Bombay 1897) *priyakathā eva subhagāḥ karṇālaṁkārā, āḍambaraḥ kuṇḍalādiḥ* "the talk of their dear ones forms happy ear-ornaments; rings and the like are but affectation" (Cowell–Thomas) may be compared Bṛhatkathāmañjarī 18, 14 *phalaṁ rājyataror etac, cheṣam āḍambaraṁ śriyaḥ*. Thomas, JRAS 1899, 509, suggests a meaning "anointing of body" for Harṣac. 229, 15, and records *ḍambara-* "bombastic tone" (śl. 17). A similar contamination of the sense "bombast, pomp" and "dull sound" is suggested by Somadevasūri's own commentary on Yaśastil. I, 98, 1 *madhukarakuṭumbinīnikurambāḍambara-*, viz. *āḍambareṇa: āṭopatayā śabdagarjitayā vā*. But the implication of "sound" is absent in, e.g., Bhāratamañj. 13, 962 *ahiṁsā paramo dharmaḥ, kratuś cādravyaḍambaraḥ* (display of unsuitable things), 3, 227 *adravyāḍambaro yajñas*, 3, 610 *draviṇāḍambarāvāpyāñ* [10]) *jñātvā pāpamayān kratūn / sarvayajñaphalaṁ tīrthaṁ dhīmān ko vā na sevate?* The meaning "splendour" [11]) is found, e.g., Varadāmbikāpariṇaya 28, 6—7 *-govṛnda-vadana - niṣyandamāna - romantha - bindusandoha - tārakitāmbarāḍambara-viḍambana-catura-śādvaladeśān*. The Vikramāṅkadevacarita has as a rule

---

[9]) Caland mistook *ḍ* for an avagraha owing to their close resemblance in the Leyden MS. and read *ravisarinnīrāvaṭāmbarā*, which is against the metre. Since *nn* and *tt* are equally possible, I take it to mean "the water of the Yamunā (*ravisarit* = *tapanasutā, tapanaduhitā*) is now so low (on account of the heat) as to show the holes of the banks". For *nirviṣṭā* the MS. reads *nirddiṣṭā*.

[10]) This is obviously the correct reading for *āvāpyā* of the Kāvyamālā edition.

[11]) See further Pet. Dict. VII, 1747, Böhtl. I, 283 ("Pracht, Schönheit").

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

the variant *ḍambara-*, e.g., 1, 47 *prakoṣṭhapṛṣṭhasphurad-indranīlaratnāvalī-kaṅkaṇaḍambareṇa*, 2, 71 *mahāgṛhāṇāṁ pratibimbaḍambaraiḥ praṇamyamāneva*, 17, 21 *vitānaratnapratibimbaḍambarair vibhānti yatprāṅgaṇasīmni lāsikāḥ*. In 13, 78 *nitambaḍambara-* the meaning may be somewhat similar to that of *āṭopa-* (the commentaries often render by *vistāraḥ*). I do not hazard to decide whether (*ā*)*ḍambara-* "*prapañcaḥ*" is identical with this word. See Pet. Dict. V, 1456 ("Gewirre, Menge, Masse") and cf. Rāghavapāṇḍav. 12, 17; 4, 37, and 8, 54 *sasaṁbhramocchalitapayodhiḍambara-* (the comm. renders everywhere "*prapañcaḥ*") [12]), Vikram. 9, 126 *ucchalacchīkaraḍambara-*, 12, 50 *pradarśayantīva tuṣāravarṣaṁ visāriṇā śīkaraḍambareṇa*, 13, 13 *grīṣmamahoṣmaḍambare dine*, Haracaritacintāmaṇi 9, 239 *sarvāṅganetragāḍhāsraḍambaram*.

The wide range of meanings of *āḍambara-* "pomp, ostentation" and its contamination with homonyms renders the interpretation of several passages difficult. Thus, when S'aktideva, emerging from the lake, does not see the town of the Vidhyādharas, he says *aho kim etad āścaryamāyāḍambarajṛmbhitam* (Kathās. 26, 89). Böhtlingk first took it to mean "Gewirre" (1868) but later he changed this into "Riesenmässigkeit, das Non-plus ultra, die Krone von" (1879). A somewhat similar use of the word occurs in 107, 5 *devāvirbhāvaḍambaraṁ kṛtvā*, where I would suggest to translate "the miracle of the manifestation of the god" [13]). The same acceptation seems possible in the first passage [14]). This rendering, which, for the rest, does not differ very much from Böhtlingk's, is supported by Skr. *ḍāmara-* "extraordinary, amazing; m. amazement, admiration" (Mālatīm., Gītagov.), lex. *ḍamaru-* "amazement, surprise" (Trik.), and by Hi. *ācambā, ācambhā* "wonder, marvel, astonishment, amazement" (Nep. *acamba, acambha, acamma*, id., etc.), which obviously represents a dialectal variant of *ḍamb-* and confirms our supposition that *ă-* is a Proto-Munda prefix. Skr. *camatkāra-*, m. "astonishment, amazement, surprise, wonder" (and, no doubt, "embellishment, ornament", cf. Gopālakelicandrikā 44, 27.29; 48, 21) [15]) bears the same relation to *ācambā* as *ḍāmara-* does

[12]) The exact meaning in the last passage, however is rather "noise", cf. Vikram. 15, 36 *nikaṭasthitameghaḍambarair suracāpair iva*.

[13]) The translation of Tawney-Penzer, vol. VIII, p. 43 has "the delusion of the appearance of the god". Speyer, Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara 80, quotes this passage in support of the reading *ḍambara-* in 100, 44 *jaya nijatāṇḍavaḍambaramardabharanyañcitena bhuvanena ..... praṇamyamāna ... gajavadana*, but the context rather points to a different word ("drone, din"; otherwise Tawney-Penzer VII, 131: "the crushing weight of thy *tumultuous* dance"). Different, again, is Bhāratamañj. 3, 312 *Valatkailāsaśubhrāya tāṇḍavāḍambaraspṛśe*, where *āḍambara-* denotes the *ḍamaru* (see Gopinath Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography II, 1, 137, 193, etc.); as a matter of fact, the *āḍambara-* is according to Nīlakaṇṭha (ad Mhbh. 7, 82, 4) a *kṣudrapaṭahaḥ*. See further s.v. *dundubhi-*.

[14]) "Alas! what is this great display of marvellous delusion?" (Tawney-Penzer II, 224).

[15]) Cf. Tam. *camatkāram* "cleverness, skill in speaking, poetic charm, aspect, manifestation", Tel. *camatkāramu* "skill, adroitness, ingenuity, wit, a prank or manoeuvre, curiosity, rarity, refinement", Kann. *camatkāra* "astonishment, surprise, a show, spectacle, a wonder, cleverness, skilfulness, quickness".

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

to *ḍambara-* (Proto-Munda nasalization, resp. prenasalization). Now it is interesting to note that in Hindi the Skr. loanword means, not only "surprise, astonishment, amazement", but also "show, pomp, grandeur, splendour" (cf. Platts s.v. *camatkār*); likewise Nep. *camatkār* means "brilliance, splendour, grandeur". This fact, though rather baffling, tends to show that all these words are derived from the same root (cf. Greek *ἄγαμαι* : *ἄγᾱν* : *μέγας*?).

3. The original sense of Skr. *ḍamara-*, m. "riot, tumult" (Var. BS.), *ḍimba-*, "affray, tumult, danger, distress" (Mhbh. Manu) is rather "confusion" than "blow". The lexicographers render *ḍimba-* by *viplavaḥ*. I presume, therefore, that it is to be separated from Nep. *ḍimbā, ḍimmā* "blow, slap" (Turner s.v.), which belongs to the affiliation of Skr. *capeṭā-*, and that it is connected with the first component of S. *ḍamaḍol* "confusion, disorder, uproar, disturbance, tumult; restless, confused, distressed". Beng. *ḍāmādol* "tumult" is according to Chatterji 495 of deśī origin, and the same may be true of Hi. *ḍāmāḍol, ḍā̃wā̃ḍol* "unsettled, uneasy, restless, distressed (in mind)". Its type of formation strongly suggests a Munda origin (though the Santali word may possibly be a reborrowing) [16]). The meaning of Nep. *ḍāmā-ḍol*, viz. "shaky, not firm, unsteady, unsettled", may have been influenced (through popular etymology) by *bhuĩ-ḍol* "earth-quake". For the true cognates of *-ḍol*, see s.v. *tumula-*.

5. *āpīḍa-*, m. "crown, garland".

Since Mhbh., Rām. According to Cappeller (Skr. Engl. Dict. s.v.) "lit. head-presser", which probably is the common view. As a matter of fact, *āpīḍa-* is once used in the sense of "pressure, squeeze" instead of *āpīḍana-* (*galāpīḍa-*, Suśr.) [17]). But the other word was employed in a wider sense, which cannot easily be connected with *pīḍ-* "to press". Pischel § 122 gives its meaning as "Kranze, Haarflechte", which is confirmed by Pkt. *āmeḷa-, āmela-, āmoḍa-, moḍa-*, m. [18]) "mass of twisted hair" (*jūṭaḥ*, Deśīn. 1, 62; 6, 117). The commentary on 1, 62, it is true, only identifies *āmela-* "head-ornament" (*śekharaḥ*) with Skr. *āpīḍa-*, in contradistinction to the word with the meaning "*jūṭaḥ*", which it regards as a *deśī*-word. As for *āmeḷa-*, Pischel § 122 traces its derivation from **āpīḍya-* (> **āpiḍḍa-, *āpeḍḍa-, *āpeḍa-*), cf. Geiger § 11. Hemacandra records an interesting variant *āveḍa-*, which recurs in Pa. *āveḷa-* "1) turning round, swinging, diffusion, radiation, protuberance (with reference to the rays of the Buddha). 2) a garland or other ornament slung round and worn over the head". Rhys Davids and Stede derive this from *ā-veṣṭ-* (with which

---

16) See s.v. *tumula-*.

17) Mhbh. 3, 64, 102 B. (= Nala 12, 102 in the longer recension) *taruśreṣṭham aśokaṁ ... pallavāpīḍitam* means no doubt "crowned with twigs", (*pallavair bhūṣitam* Nīl.). Thus rightly Böhtlingk (Caland, Sāvitrī und Nala 124: "dicht bedeckt", from *pīḍ-*).

18) See Pischel § 238.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

āmeḷa- is likewise connected). The Pali word certainly presents some difficulties as it is possible that in its first sense it belongs to *āvelita-* "turned round, wound, curved" (root *vel-, vell-*). However that may be, there can be no doubt that in its second meaning it is identical with Pkt *āveḍa-*, *āmeḷa-* and Skr. *āpīḍa-*.

If, then, these words denote both a garland and a braid of hair, their original meaning is likely to have been "plaiting". This reminds of Hi. *bī̃ḍī* "the hair twisted or plaited behind, braided hair", which must be a Munda word on account of its dialectal variants *mēḍī*, *mī̃ḍī*, id. (with nasalization of *b*). Cf. also Hi. *bī̃ḍā* "bundle, roll, twist of grass", *bī̃ḍ*, *birā* "big bundle, load", *beṇṭā* "a turban" = Hi. Nep. *pheṭā*, id. The Munda origin of these words cannot, indeed, be questioned, cf. S. *bhīṇḍ* "a large bundle or burden (tied)", M. *biṛa* "a bundle of crop", *bēḍ'* "turban, to wear a turban, to tie on the head" (*bēnēḍ'* "head-dress, pagri, turban") [19]), *beoṛā* "to tie paddy seedlings together, to tie up the hair", Ho *birā* "a big bundle of paddy", *beṇṭā* "a pagri or turban". For a full account of this root and its many derivatives see s. vv. *meṇḍha-* and *kabarī-*. Skr. *āpīḍa-* must accordingly contain a Proto-Munda prefix (see, e.g., *āṭopa-*), as it is obviously connected with this word-family. With Pkt. (*ā*)*moḍa-* cf. Pkt. *murumuṇḍa-*, id. (Deśīn. 6, 117), *phuṇṭā-* "*keśabandhaḥ*" (6, 84) and p. 110 f.

If this be correct, the intricate explanation of the *e* in Pkt *āmeḷa-*, etc. (Pischel § 122) is unnecessary as *āveḍa-*, *āveḷa-* may be taken to be fully identical with *āpīḍa-*, and the *m* of *āmeḷa-* is a similar instance of Proto-Munda nasalization as, e.g., Hi. dial. *mēḍī*, *mī̃ḍī* = *bī̃ḍī* "braided hair" or Skr. *meṇḍha-* = *bheḍa-* "ram". Pischel § 248, it is true, assumes a dialectal change of *pa* (via *va*) to *ma*: "Der Übergang, der fast ganz auf AMg. beschränkt ist, erklärt sich aus dem Wechsel von *ma* und *va*". Pischel's interpretation of the facts can however be shown to be incorrect. His materials clearly comprise two different phenomena, viz.

1) Nasalization of *p* (> *b*, *v*) through a preceding *n*, e.g. Skr. *nipadyate*, *nipanna-* > *ṇumajjaï*, *ṇumaṇṇa-*; *āpānapanī* > *āṇamaṇī*; *kuṇapa-* > *kuṇima-*; *nīpa-* > *ṇīma-*; Pa. *manāpa-* > *maṇāma-*; *vanīpaka* > *vaṇīmaga-*, etc.; in *svapna-* > *siviṇa-*, *simiṇa-* the *n* follows after the *v*.

2) Austro-Asiatic nasalization in *āmeḷa-*, *ṇimeḷa-* (see p. 146), *cimiḍha-* (p. 57), and probably also in *viḍima-* (= *viṭapa-*).

6. *udumbára-*, m., "ficus glomerata", m.n. "its fruit".

In the last sense it is also accented *udúmbara-* (S'at. Br.). The word is in common use since the Brāhmaṇas. In the later literature it is written *uḍumbara-*. Böhtlingk considers this an incorrect spelling, whereas Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, 173, reckons *uḍumbara-* among the instances where *d* has been cerebralized "without any apparent cause" (likewise

[19]) For the final checked *d'* (*ṭ'*) representing a cerebral, see p. 33 f.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Bloch, Langue marathe 125). The same spelling is however found in Vedic texts, cf. Kāṭh. S. 21, 8 (p. 47, 13) *auḍumbarīr bhavanti, ūrg vā uḍumbara, ūrjam evāsmā apidadhāti.* Ancient and modern attempts to explain *udumbára-* as an IE. word have led to no result, cf. S'at. Br. 7, 4, 1, 39; 7, 5, 1, 22; H. Petersson, IF 34, 229 f. (cf. J. Charpentier, IF 35, 255). See also Bloch 298. The word and the various historical problems connected with it have been discussed at length in Przyluski's luminous article entitled "Un ancien peuple du Penjab: les Udumbara" (Journ. As. 1926, I, p. 1 ff.). He refers to the fact that the fruits of the *ficus glomerata,* though resembling the figs known in Europe, are ovoid and contain a great quantity of seeds. In both respects they accordingly resemble the gourd (Skr. *tumba-, tumbā-, tumbi-, tumbuka-* "lagenaria vulgaris"), with which Przyluski further connects *goḍumba-* "water-melon, *Cucumis maderaspatanus,* colocynth" (only in lexicographical works). But the word-family of Skr. *alābŭ-, lābŭ-* and several Indonesian words, which the learned author also connects with them, are not likely to have anything to do with them [20]). Instead of such vague speculations it is possible to give a more precise explanation of *udumbára-* and its cognates. The common characteristic of the fig, the gourd, and the water-melon denoted by *ḍ/tumb-* must either have been "ovoid, round" or "full of seeds". Now, modern Kherwari has many derivatives from a root *ḍa-ba* "swollen, roundish, etc.", e.g., S. *ḍub ḍubiạ* "full, swollen (stomach), tight, stuffed", *ḍub ḍubi* "to impregnate, become enceinte", *ḍum* "to be pregnant", *ḍumkạ* "roundish, oblong, oval (fruit)", *ḍumkuc'* "small [21]) and oval (fruit, tubers)", *bin' ḍimbu* "cucumis trigonis", etc., M. *dhumā* (*dhumi,* f.) "fat and dwarf" [21]), *dhumṛā* (*dhumṛi,* f.) "stout, fat", *ḍhomsol* "fat", *ḍhimsi* "a big-bellied woman", *ḍheb ḍhebe, ḍhebrā* "big-bellied". With regard to the variety of the root-vocalism it is interesting to note that some Sanskrit lexicographical works write *goḍimba-* for *goḍumba-* (thus Hemac. and Med.); see also s.v. *ḍimb(h)a-* [22]).

Przyluski has drawn attention to various myths in the Aryan tradition which testify to a popular belief about the fertility of the colocynth (*lagenaria vulgaris,* Skr. *tumba-, alābu-*), the pumpkin, and the melon. Thus Sumati, the second wife of king Sagara of Ayodhyā, gave birth to a gherkin from which 60.000 sons were born: *garbha(ṁ) tumbaṁ vyajāyata / ṣaṣṭiḥ putrasahasrāṇi tumbabhedād viniḥsṛtāḥ,* Rām. 1, 38 (39), 17; *garbhālābuṁ vyajāyata* Mhbh. 3, 106, 19 Bomb. In the latter version the sons are born from the seeds that had to be taken from the fruit. The name of Sagara's ancestor, viz. *Ikṣvāku-* "gherkin, colocynth", is probably

---

[20]) The question whether **labu* is ultimately an Austric variant of **ḍubu* cannot yet be decided. Cf. however Pkt. *kalavū-* "a vessel made out of a gourd" (*tumbīpātram* Deśīn. 2, 12).

[21]) Contamination with *ḍa-wa* "small", cf., e.g., M. *ṭhepā* "short in stature, dwarf" (Skr. *śāva-* "young of animal").

[22]) A variant of *uḍumbara-* without prefix *u-* is perhaps Beng. *ḍumur.* The evidence for aphaeresis is very slight, see Chatterji 313.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

due to the same belief about a colocynth being the origin of the dynasty. Przyluski's supposition that this idea has been adopted from the Proto-Munda population is quite plausible and is now supported by the etymology, which suggests that the Aboriginals associated these fruits, on account of their form, with a pregnant woman; cf. S. *ḍum* "to be pregnant": *ḍumkạ* "roundish, oblong, oval". The roundish form (together with the great quantity of seeds, see Przyluski, p. 33, n. 1) must have been considered the most characteristic feature of these fruits. The same holds good for the *udumbára-*, the fig. In the Brāhmaṇas the wood of the *udumbára-* plays a rather important part and every time its use is explained with the words *ūrg* (*vā*) *udumbaraḥ* "verily, the *udumbara* is (identical with) vigour". Cf. the above quotation from the Kāṭh. S., and also 12, 13 (p. 175, 16 f.): *aúdumbaro yűpo bhavati; devā́ vaí yátrórjaṁ vyábhajanta táta udumbáro 'jāyata*, etc. "The sacrificial post is made of *udumbara-*wood: wherever the Gods distributed the *ūrj-* ('vital power'), there arose the *udumbara-*". In Ath.S. 19, 31 an amulet of *udumbára-* is held to bestow prosperity (*puṣṭi-*). The importance attached to the *udumbára-* is hardly based on its fruit, which is not very nutritious and only eaten in times of famine (Przyluski, p. 46) [23]. We may rather suppose that the prominent position which this tree held in popular belief was due to the "vital power", in which the *udumbara-* was held to be rich on account of the "fertility" of its fruits. An interesting illustration of it is found in the wedding ceremonials according to the ritual of the Baudhāyanas, which prescribes that the newly-married couple should leave the village on the fifth day after the wedding in order to worship an *udumbara*-tree and pray to it for offspring (see Hillebrandt, Ritualliteratur 68). The use of *Udumbara-, Audumbara-* as a tribal name [24]) is obviously due to the totemism prevalent among the Proto-Munda population. Cf. *Ikṣvāku-* and see s.v. *Kuvinda-*.

Udumbalá- is an epithet of the two dogs of Yama in ṚS. 10, 14, 12 (Ath.S. 18, 2, 3): *urūṇasā́v asutṛ́pā udumbalaú yamásya dūtaú carato jánāṅ ánu*. It is usually translated by "brown" or "copper-coloured" on account of its supposed identity with *udumbára-*, the fig-tree, the fruits of which are light-brown (Pet. Dict., Grassmann, Wörterb. zum Rigveda, see Neisser, Zum Wörterb. des RV., s.v.). This is, of course, merely conjectural as the exact meaning of the word is unknown. Sāyaṇa's explanation (*urubalau, vistīrṇabalau*) shows that he did not know the word either. Since the dogs are described as being *śabálau* "brindled" in v. 10, there is no reason to suppose that *udumbalaú* denotes a colour at all [25]). From

[23]) The value of the *udumbara* fruit for medicinal purposes seems to have been unknown before the classical period.

[24]) See Przyluski, p. 1 ff., and cf. Bṛhatsaṁhitā 15, 3.

[25]) Hillebrandt, Lieder des RV. 119, and Oldenberg, Religion des Veda 575, n. 3, do not translate it. For later speculations on Śabala and Śyāmā, see Jaim. Br. 1, 6 (Caland, p. 5 f.)!

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

the variants *ulumbala-* (Taitt. Ār. 6, 3, 2; Āp. Mantrap. 2, 16, 2), *ulumbara-* (*ulumbaraḥ sārameyo* Hir. GS 2, 7, 2), *udumbara-* (Paipp. variant of Ath.S. 18, 2, 13) [26]) we may infer that the original form of the word was **uḍumbara-* (**uḍumbala-*). It is probable, therefore, that it is ultimately identical with the preceding word, its meaning being "fat, obese". Cf. e.g., S. *ḍub ḍubi(ạ)* "full, swollen (stomach), tight, stuffed", *ḍum* "to make (or be) pregnant", *ḍum ḍum* "having a swollen, protruding stomach", *dhumā̤* "short and fat, corpulent, fat and lazy (boys, bullocks)", *dhumṛā̤, dhumsạ*, id., *dumeṛae* "stout (women)", *domo* "to swell, cause a swelling", *lọbọk' lọbọk', lọbhọk'* "stout, fat, obese", *ṭub ṭubu* "distended (stomach), visibly pregnant, to impregnante, get an overfull stomach", *ṭhompo* "large and round (tubers)", *thom thorok'* "thick, stout and short", etc.

With a different accent the word occurs in Ath. S. 8, 6, 17

uddharṣiṇaṁ múnikeśaṁ jambhāyantaṁ marīmṛśám
upéṣantam udumbálaṁ tuṇḍélam utá śāluḍam.

These words describe goblins who are supposed to approach pregnant women. The hymn abounds in obscure terms which are either epithets of demons in general, or designations of special classes of them. As for *tuṇḍéla-*, Roth took it as the name of a certain spirit or goblin, whereas Whitney renders it tentatively as "snouted" (= *túṇḍika-* in stanza 5). Since however *tuṇḍéla-* is rather identical with *tuṇḍila-* "having a prominent navel" (S'āṅkh. GS. 4, 19), it may be regarded as an indication that the popular belief about little pot-bellied demoniacal beings, well-known from the later sculptural art, dates back to the Vedic period. Cf. v. 10 of the same hymn, where *kukṣilāḥ* (= *bṛhatkukṣayaḥ* comm.) are mentioned. The words *udumbálaṁ tuṇḍélam* may accordingly be translated "big-bellied and with a protruding navel", which better suits the context than "brown", as references to the colour of these goblins are rare (cf. *kṛṣṇáḥ* in v. 5). It should be added that *Hiḍimba-*, name of a Rākṣasa, is a derivative from the same root (see *ḍimb(h)a-*); cf. also *kuṣmāṇḍa-, kumbhāṇḍa-*.

Przyluski, p. 34 f., has pointed out that the names of several musical instruments are derived from the words for "colocynth" and similar fruits. Beside *lābukī-*, f. "a kind of lute" (Hārāvalī), cf. *alābuvīṇā-* "a lute with the shape of a bottle gourd" (Lāṭy.), perhaps identical with the Bengali *alābu sāraṅgī*, to which Przyluski refers. Skr. lex. *kolambaka-*, m. "der Körper der indischen Laute" may have been derived from a word with the meaning "bulky, bulging, big-bellied", Cf. Pa. *kolamba-, koḷamba-* "a pot, a vessel in general" (and, with different vowels, *kaḷopī-, khaḷopi-* "a vessel, basin, pot, basket" from **ka-ḍop-*), Pkt *kolamba-*, m. "a pot, pan" (*piṭharam*, Deśīn. 2, 47; to be separated from *kollara-*, id.), Mar. *koḷābē* "a pot with a wide mouth". Without prefix: Beng. *ḍābā, ḍābar*

[26]) Oldenberg, Noten on 10, 14, 12.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

"a capacious pot (of metal), a round vessel" (Chatterji 494 suggests derivation from *darvī-*), *ḍibā*, *ḍibiyā* "a small round box" (Chatterji 495), Hi. *ḍabbā* "small box, casket", Tam. *ṭappā* "round box, casket", Hi. *jambū*, *cambū* "narrow-necked vessel", etc. The connexion of the last words is however not quite certain on account of Nep. *ḍibiyā*, which is apparently connected with Skr. *cipiṭa-* (*q.v.*). If Pa. *kalamba-*, n., the name of a certain herb or plant, really denotes a bulb or radish (as is suggested by the rendering *tālakanda-* in some commentaries, see PTS Dict.), it contains the same radical element. Cf. further Pkt *lumbī-* "cluster" (*stabakaḥ* Deśīn. 7, 28) and see s.vv. *āṭopa-*, *ḍimb(h)a-*, *dāḍima-*.

7. *undur u-*, m. "mouse".

Cf. *undura-*, *unduru-* [27]), m. "mouse, rat" (Lexx., Suśr.), *undara-* (Yaśastil.) *undaru-*, *indūra-* (Lexx.). As for *-ūra-* varying with *-ura-*, see Frisk, Zur Indoiran. and griech. Nominalb. 48. Moreover a word *kundu-*, m., with the same sense is quoted by the S'abdakalpadruma. Like *karbu-* (: *karbura-*) [28]) it may stand for **kundur* which was taken as the nominative of a stem *kundu-*. All these words accordingly contain the prenasalized root-element *-ndur*. The interchange of *i-* and *u-* in the prefix may be due to a different representation of *ĕ-*. Its reflexes are still found in modern Aryan, cf. Mar. *ūdar* (vulgar *undīr*), Guj. *undar* "rat", Sgh. *unduru* contrasting with *indūr* in Hindi and the Eastern languages. Bloch, 89 (cf. p. 297) holds it to be a case of metathesis of *i* and *u* (as in the cognates of Skr. *bindu-* and *puñjīla-*), but the occurrence of *indūra-* and *undura-* in Sanskrit points rather to Munda vowel-variation.

It is clear that *undura-* is a borrowing from some native language; thus, *e.g.*, Charpentier, Monde Oriental, vol. 18, p. 23 f., who is unable to trace the source of origin, and Chatterji in 'Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India', Introd. p. XXIV, who compares Khmer *kāndŏr* (Old Khmer *kăntur*) "rat". This may be correct, but the direct source of these words is prob. to be found in So. *guntúr-* "rat", *kĕntúr-* "bat". The bat is often denoted by the same word as the mouse, cf. Bahnar *hamet* "bat" (Besisi *hāpēt*, *hampēt*, *sāpēt*): Nicob. *komet* "mouse" and Dutch *vleer-muis* (Germ. *Fledermaus*), French *chauve-souris*, Russ. *letúčaya myš'*, etc. If this is correct, the Sanskrit words have a *d* for *t*; owing to the tendency to voice prenasalized explosives [29]). As for *undura-*, *indūra-* etc., they either stand for **kundur*, **kĕndur* with loss of the *k* (via *h*) or they contain a prefix *ĕ(n)-*. So. *on(d)réṅ-* "rat" is hardly related; on Kui *oḍri* "rat, mouse" and Skr. *ḍorikā-* "musk-rat" I do not venture to pronounce an opinion.

---

[27]) Cf. the borrowing Tamil *unturu* "bandicoot" (in a lex. work).

[28]) See Acta Orientalia, vol. 16, p. 306.

[29]) See Acta Orientalia, vol. 16, p. 204.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

With regard to So. *kĕntŭr* "bat" the question arises whether *jatŭ-* (Ath. S., Maitr. S., Vāj. S.), *jatūkā-'* (Caraka), *jatukā-*, *jatunī-* (Lex.) may be derived from **jatúr*, **jĕtúr* and thus be connected with So. *kĕntŭr*. So long as no such word with the prefix *jĕ(n)-* has been traced in Munda this remains hypothetical. See also s.v. *vātuli-*.

8. *kajjala-*, n., *kajjalī-*, f. **"lamp-black, used as ink or a collyrium".**

First occurrence in Suśr., common in Class. Skr.; cf. Pa. *kajjala-*. No plausible explanation has been given. The PTS Dict. takes it as being "dialectal for *kad-jala-* from *jalati, jval*; orig. burning badly or dimly, a dirty brown". Bloch, BSOS 5, 738, suggests some connexion with Kann. *kāḍige*, Tel. *kāṭike* (from Drav. *kaṛ-* "black"). Although several of the mod. Hi. forms of this word (*kājal, kajlā, kajlī, kajrā*, etc.) have been adopted by modern Munda, its ultimate origin seems to be in Proto-Munda. Derivatives from *ka-ya* "black" (partly mixed up with reborrowings from mod. Aryan) are, e.g. S. *koya* "black (with dust), smirched", *koya hoṛo, koeya hoṛo* "a variety of the paddy plant (grain is black-looking)", *kuyạ* "black smirch (round the mouth), to smirch, smut", *kuilạ* (fem. *kuili*) "black, dark-skinned", *kuilạ* "charcoal" (Hi. *koilā*, see s.v. *kokila-* "charcoal"), *kajra* "having dark spots on the hump of the head" (Hi. *kajrā*). It would be tempting to compare Perak Semang *sekai* (*s'koi, pĕkoi*) "black", but beside *koya* "black, smirched" there occurs *goyak'* "having a black spot (on the tongue), to blacken, smear oneself on the cheek with soot", which, again, is a variant of *gotak'*, id. The last words must accordingly be derived from a root *ga-ḍa* (*ḍ* > *y* and > *ṭ* > *t*), unless we should assume a contamination of different words. In any case, these words tend to show that *koya* and the other words quoted belong to a root with initial *g*, provided they are connected with *goyak'*. The remarkable Nep. equivalent of *kajjala-*, viz. *gājal* "lampblack, soot, the black pigment placed round the eyes", confirms this supposition.

If however our conclusion that *ga-ya* is a variant of *ga-ḍa* is correct (which conclusion is based on the assumption that *goyak'* and *gotak'* are dialectal variants of one and the same word), this result, besides rendering the connexion with Semang Perak *sekai* rather doubtful, makes the problem much more complicated. S. *hẹnḍẹ*, M. *hende*, K. *kēndē* "black" are derived from an original **keṇḍe*, cf. Ho *heṇḍe* [30]), Nimar dialect of Kurku *keṇḍe* [31]). Do they represent a variant with *e* (by the side of *goyak'*, *koya*, and *kajj-*)? If so, the question arises whether the words for "black", from which Skr. *kāla-* is derived, are of Munda or Dravidian origin. Cf., e.g., S. *kaṛea* "jet black (animals)", *kaṛeo*, id. (men), a leech (a taboo sub-

---

[30]) See Lionel Burrows, Ho Grammar (Calcutta 1915), pp. 121, 126, 161.

[31]) As a rule, this dialect preserves much more faithfully medial cerebrals than the "Standard dialect".

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

stitute *forjōk*), *kaṛi* "black (animals), jet black", *kaṛidaṅ, kaṛindaṅ* "black, dense, heavy (clouds, also about black and dirty people, buffaloes)" and, on the other hand, Tam. *kaṟu* "to grow black, darken" (*kaṟuppu* "blackness, darkness", *kaṟai* "black colour, hue, tinge"), *karu* "dark colour", *kari* "charcoal, black pigment for the eye", *karukkal* "darkness, cloudiness", *kaṇṇaṅ-kariya* "very dark, jet-black", *kāri* "blackness, that which is black", *kār* "id., cloud", *kāḷ* "blackness", perh. *karuku-* "to be scorched, to blacken by fire or sun, to turn brown, become dark, grow dim", *kaṉṟu-* "to be scorched, to be sunburnt", Kann. *kāḍu, kandu, kan, kar, kare, kaṟ, kaṟe, kaṛi, karṟage, kār, kāru, kāḷ* "blackness, dark-blue colour", *kaḷgu-* "to turn black", *kaḷtale* "darkness", *kāḍige* (Tel. *kāṭike*) "lampblack, a collyrium prepared from it", Tel. *kara, karra* "blackness, stain, dirt", *karaka* "black(ness), dark(ness)", *kāru* "dark(ness), jetty black(ness)". There can hardly be any doubt as to the native Dravidian character of these words, and S. *kaṛea* and *kaṛi* must accordingly be loanwords from Dravidian, like Skr. *kāla-*, Hi. *kālā, kārā*, etc. If so, *kajjala-* is to be separated from Kann. *kāḍige* (see Bloch, BSOS 5, 738) [32]). On the other hand, Gondi *kossō* "lampblack" is possibly a Munda loanword. These few remarks only intend to indicate a problem, for which they cannot give a definite solution. This question requires a far more detailed treatment than can be given to it in the present stage of these studies.

9. *kaṇṭhá-*, m. "throat, neck".

Since the S'at. Br., but *sahákaṇṭhikā-* is attested as early as the Ath. S. (10, 9, 15). The suggestion that *kaṇṭhá-* and *kandhara-* (class.) have developed from **kanthra-* (Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, 171) is not convincing, the less so since Sanskrit has some other words which point to a root *ghaṭ-, kaṭ-*, cf. *ghāṭā-* "nape of the neck, neck" (Suśr., Amara), which survives in Beng. H. *ghāṛ* (Pkt. *ghāḍa-*), and must have had a side-form **gāṭṭa-* (presupposed by Panj. *gāṭṭā* "nape of the neck" and other words quoted by Turner s.v. *kā̃ṭh* [33]). Chatterji, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, p. XXIV, connected the Bengali word with Skr. *gala-*, Sakai *gloh, gälo*, which is hardly correct. The root form *kaṭ-* occurs in *kṛkāṭa-*, n., "joint of the neck" (Ath. S. 9, 7, 1), *kakāṭikā-* "a part of the human occiput" (10, 2, 8 "hindhead?" Whitney), *kṛkāṭikā-* "joint of the neck" (Suśr.), *kṛkāṭaka-* "neck" (Vyutp.). Perhaps *kaḍaällī* "*kaṇṭhaḥ*" (Deśīn. 2, 15) is also connected with these words. Hemacaṅdra, it is true, quotes *kṛka-* "larynx", hence *kṛkāṭa-* might be regarded as a derivative in *-āṭa-* (thus, e.g., Tarapada Chowdhury, JBORS vol. 17, 1931, p. 38). *Kṛka-* might then be connected with J. *kuṅka*, Kh. *koṅko*, So. *sáṅkā* "neck", S. *kaṅkha* "edge, brim" (cf. S. *totka* "occiput, nape of the neck",

---

[32]) Skr. *ajjhala-* (see *s.v. kokila-*) leaves no doubt as to its Proto-Munda origin.
[33]) See also Turner, BSOS. 5, 1, 124.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

M. *tutka, tuṭkā* "back of the neck or head" and Mon *ka'* "nape of the neck", Khmer *ka*, Bahnar *ako*, Stieng *kou* "neck") [34]). On the other hand, many words quoted in lexicographical works are only inferential forms based on an incorrect analysis of existing words (see s.v. *khiṅkira-*). It is possible, therefore, that *kṛ́kāṭa-* and its derivatives contain a prefix *kṛ-* (*ka-*) and belong to the group of *kaṇṭhá-* and *ghāṭā-*. We may then compare S. *hoṭoṭ'* "neck", M. *hoṭo* "neck, throat" (< **koṭ-oṭ'*?) and (with nasalization) Sem. *ṅot, ṅut* "neck", Stieng *ṅun* "nape of the neck", Sakai *taṅgun* (Central Sakai *taṅg'n*) "neck", Tembi *taṅgön* "nape of the neck". *Kaṇṭha-* cannot be separated from Kann. *gaṇṭalu*, id. (Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 133) but this word (whether or not connected with Tam. *kaḻuttu*, etc.) may be a loanword, as *kuṅke* "nape of the back" (ibid. 340) evidently is.

10. *kanaka-*, n. "gold".

Since Ṣaḍv. Br. 4, 6 (see Weber, Omina und Portenta 326). Usually connected with *kāñcana-*, n., "gold", Greek *κνηκός* "yellow, red", Old Engl. *hunig* "honey", etc. (see Boisacq, Dict. étymol. de la langue grecque, s.v.). *Kanaka-*, however, presents serious difficulties since this explanation is based on the assumption of an IE. word **qₑnəqó-* (thus Walde–Pokorny I, 400, otherwise Petersson, Studien über die idg. Heteroklisie 170 f.). F. Otto Schrader, KZ. 56, 126 n. 2, compares Tam. *kaṉal* "to be hot, to glow (as fire), to boil, burn", *kaṉi* "to be red-hot, to glow, ripen", *kaṉali* "sun", etc., which however presuppose a different primary meaning.

Although I am unable to propose a more satisfactory explanation I would draw attention to the fact that lexicographical works mention two other words for gold, which seem to be akin to *kanaka-*, viz. *kakanda-*, m., and *kandala-*, m. The first of them is of particular interest as it suggests a Proto-Munda origin of *kanaka-*, which is accordingly to be referred to a root *ka-da* or *ga-da* (*ga-ḍa*?) [35]). The primary sense must have been either "glittering" or "lump". If the root be *ga-ḍa*, we may also connect Skr. *hāṭaka-* "gold" with this group. The traditional derivation from IE. **ghel-to-*, though not impossible, is anything but convincing. Skr. *kāñcana-* is ambiguous.

The native lexicographers derived *kanaka-* from a root *kan-* "to beam, radiate" (which Böhtlingk, Pet. Dict., wrongly rejected for a far more problematical connexion with *kánīyān*). This root is mentioned in the Dhātupāṭha and occurs in the late classical literature, perhaps for the first time in Uttararāmacar. 5, 5 (v.l.), see Renou, Journ. As. 1939, p. 397f. Rather than being due to a misinterpretation of *kan-* "to be satisfied" (ṚS), it is more likely to have been deduced from *kanaka-* and *kānti-*. If so, it does not furnish any support for our explanation of *kanaka-*. Nor is

---

[34]) Cf. also Blagden's Vocabulary sub N. 26 (Sakai *kua'*, Semang *kua* "neck").

[35]) Kittel, Kannada-Engl. Dict., Pref. XXV, points to Drav. *cini, cinna, cinni* "gold", which may be palatalized variants of *kan-*.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

the obscure word *kanáknaka-* (Ath. S. 10, 4, 22), for which Tarapada Chowdhury, JBORS 17, 1931, 59, suggests a meaning "bright, glistening", a reliable foundation on which to base any theory.

11. *kabarī-*, f. (*kabara-*, m.) **"a braid of hair".**

Only attested in the classical literature, as Amaruś., S'iśupālav., Kādamb. 300, 4, Uttararāmac. 50, 3, Dharmaśarmābhyudaya 4, 10. 14; 5, 48, Vikramāṅkadevac. 12, 46; 15, 4; 18, 62, Kathās. 119, 155, Bhāratamañj. 19, 989, Bhāg. P. (Pet. Dict. II, 181, V, 1271), Gopālakelic. 45, 24; 90, 30, Varadāmbikāpariṇaya 136 (v. 113), Brahmavaivartap. 4, 15, 11. 155. 158; 4, 69, 10, etc. But *kabarī-* must have been introduced into Sanskrit at a comparatively early date since Pāṇini 4, 1, 42 has a rule concerning this word in the sense of *keśaveśaḥ* (hair-dressing).

Kabarī- obviously belongs to a root *bar-* which is also found in *barbara-* (*varvara-*) "curly" (Kāṭh. S. 25, 7), *barbara-* "curly hair" (Hemac., Medinī), Pkt. *babbarī* "dressing of the hair" (*keśaracanā*, Deśīn. 6, 90), cf. Hi. *bābar* "a kind of grass (of which a sort of twine is made)", *bābriyā̃* "head of hair (long and uncut)", *babrī* "cropped or dressed hair, forelocks, tresses", Mar. *bābar* "dishevelled hair" (Bloch 375), Nep. *bābari* "long and uncombed hair". The nasalized form of *bar-* occurs in Pkt. *ṭamara-* "a mass of braided hair" (*keśacayaḥ*, Deśīn. 4, 1).

A Munda root *bar*, *baṛ* (*wa-ḍa*) "to wind, twine" must be assumed on account of S. *bharbharao* "to spin round", *baber* "string, cord, twine, rope, to make do.", *buṛhu* "a bundle of rope, or string wound into a bundle", *boṛ* "a rope of straw" (M. *boṛ* "a thick rope of straw"), *bāoṛē̃* "to wind thread in the figure 8", *bheṛwaṅ* "to turn round, wheel round, spin round", *biṇḍạ* "a sheaf, bundle, faggot", M. *biṛā* "a bundle of crop", Ho *birā* "a big bundle of paddy" (cf. Hi. *bī̃ḍ* "a bundle of reeds", *bī̃ḍā* "a roll of paper, a twist of grass"), S. *bhīṇḍ* "a large bundle of burden (tied)", M. *beoṛā* "to tie paddy seedlings together, to tie up the hair". That *kabarī-* stands for **kabaṛī* may perhaps be inferred from Hi. *kabāṛ* = *kabār* "a load or bundle (of grass or firewood, etc.), a heap or collection (of miscellaneous articles), old and broken furniture". The vowel *i*, *e* is also met with in other derivatives from this root, see s.vv. *āpīḍa-* and *meṇḍha-*.

Late Skr. *davara-*, *davaraka-*, m. "thread, string" (Schmidt, Nachtr., cf. *davaraka-* "*rajjuḥ*" Hemac. Uṇādigaṇasūtra, Pkt. *davara-* "thread" (*tantuḥ* Deśīn. 5, 35) may possibly stand for **ḍavara-*, cf. Pkt *ṭamara-* from **ḍa-mara-*. But how are we to account for Pkt. *dāra-*, m. = *dora-*, m. "*kaṭisūtram*" (Deśīn. 5, 38), since Pkt. *dora-*, *ḍora-* is usually connected with *davara-* (see Turner, s.v. *ḍoro*; but cf. *ḍoṇḍā-*, p. 131!)?

The foregoing explanation of *kabarī-* also sheds a new light on Skr. *veṇī-* "a braid of hair, hair twisted into a single braid" (since Kāty. S'S). It dates back to the oldest Vedic period for in *suveṇīḥ* (ṚS 10, 56, 3) Oldenberg has recognized the same word. Although it was not easy to

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

explain the cerebral in the younger form of the word (Oertel, Gött. Gel. Nachr. 1934, 187, compared *pan-* : *paṇ-* "to admire"), the Rigvedic form seemed to support the traditional derivation from *vā-* "to weave". If, however, *veṇī-* is a Proto-Munda word, the *n* in *suveṇíḥ* is simply due to the Aryanizing tendency of the Vedic language (cf. Ved. *udumbára-* : Class. *uḍumbara-*). If so, *veṇī-* must be the original form of the word, in which case it is, together with *vīṭikā-* "preparation of the Areca nut enveloped in a leaf of the betel plant", to be connected with *kabarī*. See *āpīḍa-*, and cf. Pkt. *biṇṭa-*, m. "covering of a fruit", *viṇṭaï* "wraps round", *viṇṭiā-*, f. "bundle", etc. (see Turner, s. vv. *bīr*, *biro*, who rightly assumes a foreign origin and cf. Bh. *uin* "to twist", p. 111).

Similarly the derivation of H. *baṭnā* "to twine, twist, to plait, weave", Nep. *bāṭnu* "to twist. entwine, weave, plait", which Turner connects with Skr. *vartáyati* "turns", requires reconsideration. Cf. S. *ẹdhẹ bẹdhẹ* "to twist, tie round and round, make complicated" (*ẹcẹ pẹcẹ* "to twist and turn"), etc. With *j* < *ḍ*: S. *baj* "to plait, entangle, ravel", *bajhuạ* "to entangle, hinder" (cf. H. *bajhnā* "to be entangled", Nep. *bājhnu* "to quarrel, wrangle", etc.? from Skr. *badhyate* according to Turner, but cf. S. *ajbajhao, laj bajhao* "to involve, entangle, muddle", etc.).

Note. As an additional instance of Vedic substitution of a dental sound for a cerebral may be mentioned Ved. *bhánati* "speaks, tells" as opposed to *bhaṇati* "speaks, says, calls" (Hi. *bhannā*, etc., see Turner s.v. *bhannu*). The latter verb is confined to the Classical language unless *paribhaṇanti* (Jaim. Br.) may be regarded as a Vedic instance (see however Oertel, Gött. Nachr. 1934, 188) [36]). Pa. *bhaṭṭha-* "spoken, said", which the PTS Dict. connects with *bhaṇ-* (< **bhaṇ-ta-*?) may stand for **bhāṣ-ṭa-*. A side-form of *bhaṇ-* occurs in Mar. *mhaṇṇē* "to speak, say" (whence Gondi, Wun District, *mhaṇ-*, Naiki *mhūn*). *Mhaṇ-* is isolated in Indo-Aryan (Bloch 392) unless Dardic (Bashkarik) *mān-*, *man-* "to say" is connected (unlikely Morgenstierne, Acta Orient. 18, 244). According to Tedesco, Language 19 (1943) 17, n. 72, *bh* has been assimilated to the following nasal, but *m* is also found in S. *mẹn*, M. Ho *men* "to say, tell", K. *mhen*, *men*, id. (: S. *meta* "to say"). In Mar. *mhaṇṇē* (partic. *mhaṭlā*) we have accordingly to do with Proto-Munda nasalization. If however *bhaṇ-* / *mhaṇ-* is of Proto-Munda origin, we may further compare Ved. *vā́ṇī-* "voice" (*vaṇati* "*śabde*", Dhātup.), where the cerebral has been preserved in the Ṛksaṁhitā. From the same root *wa-ḍa* (cf. So. *ber* "to speak"?) may further be derived *bhā́ṣate* "speaks, says" (since Taitt. Br., S'at. Br.) with *bhāṣ-* standing for **bhāž-*. The traditional connexion with Lith. *balsas* "voice" is not recommendable as *balsas* is a specific Lithuanian derivative from *bal-* (Trautmann, Baltisch-Slavisches Wörterb. 25) and Edgerton,

[36]) Walde–Pokorny II, 124 and 182, separate these verbs and derive *bhánati* from an IE. original **bha-n-ô*, which is against the phonetic laws.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

KZ. 46, 177, rightly lays no weight on the suggested relationship with *bhāsate* (cf. Uhlenbeck).

Munda words properly signifying "to talk with each other" often assume the sense "to quarrel", cf. S. *roṛoṛ* (from *roṛ* "to speak"), Bh. *gapam* (cf. Kh. So. *gam* "to speak", S. *gam* "a folktale", M. *gap sap* "talk", Nep. *gaph* "talk, conversation", etc.), M. *kāpāji* "talk, quarrel" (cf. *kāji* "to say"), etc. It would seem justifiable, therefore, to derive Skr. *bhaṇḍate* "reproves, reviles", Pa. *bhaṇḍati* (Dhātup. also *paṇḍati*) "quarrels, abuses", (see Turner s. vv. *bhāṛ, bhankanu*) from the same root. Cf. Skr. *bhaṭ-* "*paribhāṣaṇe*", Dhātup. 1, 817. The derivation of Pkt. *bollaï* "speaks" is doubtful; see Bloch, BSOS 5, 742, who suggests a Dravidian origin.

12. *kamaṭha-* "bamboo".

This word only occurs in the lexicographical work S'abdaratnāvalī but it is common in most of the Modern Indo-Aryan languages, cf. H. *kā̃waṛ, kā̃war, kāwaṛ* "a bamboo lath with slings at the end for carrying things in", Si. *kāvāṭhī*, Mar. *kāvaḍ* "bamboo lath with slings", Beng. *kāmaṭhā* "bow" (Hi. *kamṭhā* "a bow, esp. one made of bamboo"), etc. See Bloch, p. 310, Turner, s.v. *kāmro*.

Turner rightly supposes a non-Aryan origin and compares Skr. (lex.) *kambi-* "shoot of joint of bamboo", Pkt. *kambā, kambī* "stick", Ass. *kāmī* "a long strip of bamboo", Guj. *kā̃b* "bamboo chip". If these words were really connected, we should have to assume a root **kamba-/*kama-* which could be Dravidian as well as Munda. Pkt. *kāva-* by the side of *kāvaḍa-* "carrying-pole" would indeed point to the conclusion that *-ṭha-* is suffixal. Another explanation was proposed by myself (Acta Orient. 16, 296, n. 2), viz. to connect it with S.M. *mat'*, K. *mad* "bamboo". In that case, however, the cerebral *ṭh* would be due to a phonetic change which is only found in a few Munda dialects. Thus in the Southern dialect of Kurku, which is spoken in Nimar, final *t'* has become *ṭ*, e.g., *ṭiṭiṭ* for *titit'* "bird"; and in Ho (a Kherwari dialect) we find *ḍ* for *ṭ'* owing to the fact that "in pronouncing the dental semi-consonant a greater part of the tongue strikes against the palate than is the case in Santali" (Konow, Ling. Survey IV, 84). These dialectal phenomena, however, which are probably of comparatively recent date, can hardly account for the cerebral in *kamaṭha-*. On the other hand Skr. *karmāra-* (Amara, Medinī), *karmarī-* (Rājanighaṇṭu) "bamboo" may be quoted in support of our supposition that *kamaṭha-* contains a prefix *ka-* (in which case Pkt. *kāva-* must owe its origin to a wrong analysis of *kāvaḍa-*, as Skr. *karka-* from *karkara-* "mirror", *k(h)ikhi-* from *khiṅkira-* "fox", *dundu-* from *dundubhi-* "drum"). If we start from a root-word **ma-ḍa*, we may further compare Mar. *māṇ* "large bamboo", *māṇā, māṇgā* "long bamboo", *māṇyā* "small bamboo", Nep. *māndro* "cane mat, large mat made of bamboo". (Kui *māṇi, māṛi* "bamboo" is obviously a loan-word). When standing in final position the *ṭ*, like the other

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

final explosives, has become a checked consonant in Munda; cf. S. *ḍeṭ'* (and, with infixes, *ḍeṛeṭ'*, *ḍeṇeṭ' ḍeṇeṭ'*) "tiny, very small" : *reṭhe* "dwarfish, small, stunted, puny, undersized", etc. (root *ḍa-ḍa* "short, stunted, small"); M. *lad* [= **lat'*] "bread, to make cakes" [37], K. *lat'* (*lad-ē*) "to make cakes" : S. *laṭhe* "a kind of dough-ball", Skr. *laḍḍu-*, *laḍḍuka-* "a kind of cake"; S. *leṭ' leṭ'* "wide outstretched" : *leṣ leṣe* "with legs spread out", *ṭaṇḍa* "to straddle, part the legs", *ṭaḍa* "a piece of wood used to force open the mouth" (root *ḍa-ḍa* "wide apart"); **cat'lom* in M. *cād'lom* (*cālom*), Ho *cadlom* : S. *caṇḍloṃ* (*caṇḍboḷ*), Bh. *cā̃ṛ bol* "tail". Hence Munda *mat'* "bamboo" (S. *mat'*, K. *mad*, *mat*, Nimar dialect *maṭ* < **mat'*) may be a specific Munda development of **maṭ*.

Initial *m* of the Austric languages mostly (if not always) represents a nasalized labial sound. As a matter of fact, Sakai has *awāt*, *awād* (Centr. Sak. *awōt*) "bamboo" and, with nasalization of the final consonant (as in Mar. *māṇ*), *awān*, Semang *awen*, id. Blagden compares Selung *kaoan*, id. (= **ka-wan*), which contains the same prefix as *kamaṭha-*. The question arises whether *bāṇá-*, m. (ṚS), *bā́ṇa-*, m. (Ath. S.) "a reed-shaft, arrow", *vā́ṇī-* "reed" (ṚS.), and perhaps *vāṇá-* (ṚS. 4, 24, 9) [38], also belong to this affiliation. The explanation proposed by Przyluski, BSL. 25, 66 ff. (Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India 19 ff.) is unacceptable for morphological reasons. In support of our suggestion we might point to *vāṅīra-*, m. "Calamus Rotang" (since Mhbh. Rām.). On the other hand, words for "reed" are often derived from roots conveying the general meaning "to bare, to strip" (Skr. *dūla-*, *naḍa-*, *bundá-*), which would lead us to connect *bāṇa-* with the wordfamily of *baṇḍá-*. But then, the bamboo may also have been named from its leafless shaft. This question must be left undecided. The connexion of Skr. *véṇú-*, m., Pa. *veḷu-* "bamboo-reed" is doubtful on account of Tamil *viṇṭu*, *veṇṭu*, *vēḻam*, *vēlai*, *etc.* (Cf. also Skr. *vetra-* : Tam. *vetir*, etc.).

13. *kavala-*, m. "a mouthful, bit, morsel".

Since Mhbh. and Rām. The etymological connexion with Old Engl. *héawan* "to beat", Lith. *káuti* "to forge" (see Uhlenbeck) is unconvincing. The original form of the word was **kabaḍa-*, cf. Pāli *kabaḷa-*, *kabala-*, Skr. *kavaḍa-*, *kabaḍa-*, *kapaḍa-* (see Lüders, Philologia Indica 559, Schmidt, Nachtr.) and Tamil *kavaḷam*, *kavaḻam*. Geiger 60, it is true, regards *v* as the original sound from which *b* has developed, but Pischel and Lüders are no doubt right in assuming an original form with *b*. This excludes the possibility of comparing Tamil *kavvu-* "to seize, grasp with eagerness", *kauvu-* "to seize with mouth, grasp with eagerness, to absorb, engross", *kavar-* "to seize, grasp, catch, steal" (cf. also Kuṟaḷ 100, where

[37] Rakhal Das Haldar has M. *laḍ* "cake" and *lād* "bread". The first form is probably incorrect.

[38] See Hillebrandt, Ved. Myth. I [2], 226: "Rohr, Somastengel".

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

kavarntu has the sense of eating = *nukarntatu*, *tiṉpatu*, comm.); Tel. *kaviyu-* "to rush upon, fall upon, to catch (as fire)".

In Santali we meet with a group of words which are obviously native Munda (on account of the various sound-developments) and point to a root *ka-wa* "to grasp". Thus we find:

with suffix *-l-*: *khabọl* "a mouthful, a handful" [cf. Beng. *khābal* "a handful, mouthful, grasp" (by the side of *go-kal* from *go-kavala-*) which, although Chatterji, 159, 438, 459, regards it as a development of Skr. *kavala-*, seems rather to be a younger borrowing from Kherwari]; *khabla khạbli* "to claw deeply, grab, clutch deeply" [39]), *khablao* "to snap, grab, clutch, grip", *khablọk'* "to swallow, devour"; *khabal khabal* "pecking, grabbing, bolting (food)";

with cerebral suffix: *khabṛao* "to grab, clutch (with the claws)"; *khabṛa*, *khabṛaha* (*khạbṛạha*) "gluttonous, greedy", *kabaṛ koboṛ* "to pick up quickly" [39]), *kapṭao*, *kamṭao* "to grap, catch, seize with claws", *kapṭa kạpṭi* "to grip one another, seize, pull one another";

with palatal suffix: *khamcao* "to snap, snatch, gripe, grab, seize a handful, a handful" (cf. Beng. *khāmcā*), *khamca khạmci* "to seize, grab, snatch, tug or pull at each other".

All these forms presuppose an original **kabaḍ* (with the normal change of *ḍ* to *l*, *ṛ*, *c* respectively). Skr. lex. *kapaṭī-*, f. "two handfuls (a certain measure)" (S'abdaratnāvalī) is obviously another variant of this original with unvoicing of *b* and *ḍ*. S. *habadiạ* "gluttonous, greedy, insatiable" and *khạudạ*, *khạudạha*, id., though also presupposing an earlier form **kabaḍ*, **kawaḍ*, have a specialized meaning, which is also found in some words which are derived direct from the root, e.g. *khạuạ* "gluttonous, greedy", *khạu khạu* "greedy, craving for food", *khạukạ* "gluttonous, gormandizing", *khạwạia*, *khaba* "glutton", *khabe khab* "devouringly (eat)".

14. *kaśmala-*.

1) "dirty, foul" (Halāy. 4, 42, Dhūrtasamāgama); n. "dirt, filth" (*svadehakaśmalaṁ pūti*, Ind. Spr.[2] 1761); = *pāpa-* (S'abdam. in S'abdakalpadr.).

2) "timid, shy" (see PW. V, 1273, one instance); m.n. "timidity, shyness" (Mhbh., Rām., Bhāratamañjarī 7, 421 etc., Bhāg. P.).

The word is but seldom used as an adjective; only in the sense of "shyness" is it rather common (= *viṣāda-* Nīlak. ad Mhbh. 1, 2, 246 Bomb.).

Kaśmala- is clearly a non-Aryan word and the few attempts made to explain it from IE. (cf. Petersson, Studien z. idg. Heteroklisie 29) may therefore be passed over in silence. Note the *ā* in Tam. *kacumālar* "dirty, slovely persons", *kacumāli* "slut, dirty person" (loanwords). It obviously

[39]) Contamination with other roots meaning "deep" and "quickly" respectively.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

is composed of a prefix *kaś-* and a root *mala* which is further found in the following words:

śámala- n. "stain, spot, fault, blemish" (only in Vedic literature, since Ath. S., Taitt. S., etc., and in the Bhāg. P.)

malīmasa- "dirty, impure, grey" (Kāvyạ, Kathās.)

mála- n.m. "dirt, impurity"; (since Ath. S., Taitt. S., etc.; once *málā* "dirty garments" ṚS. 10, 136, 2).

malina- "dirty, impure, dark-coloured, grey, black; n. meanness, fault, sin." (since Mhbh.; quite common).

The last words require some comment since their Indo-European character has not, so far as I know, seriously been questioned. Especially *malina-*, which is connected either with Greek *μέλαν-* (IE. **melh₂n-*) or with Lithuanian *mėlynas* "blue" (see the recent discussion by F. Specht, Der Ursprung der indog. Deklination, Göttingen 1944, pp. 110, 119 and Kuhn's Zeits. 65, 200), seemed to prove this beyond question. The ending *-ina-* however occurs in a number of Proto-Munda loans, as *naliná-*, *kaṭhiná-*. Whether its origin is in Proto-Munda or in Aryan, the philological facts do not allow us in any case to regard it as an old formation as the Veda uses *málavant-* instead (in *málavadvāsas-*, adj., Taitt. S.). Moreover *mala-* and *malina-* do not denote a colour as most of their supposed cognates in other IE. languages do. *Mála-* cannot, therefore, be separated from *kaśmala-* and *śámala-*.

As for *malīmasa-*, its second element is obviously related to *kalmaṣa-* and *masi-*. Uhlenbeck, Kurzgef. etym. Wb. der ai. Sprache *s.v.*, was accordingly right in referring to *mála-* and *masi-* (Incorrect Bloomfield, AJPh. 16, 433, and Renou, Grammaire sanscrite 258). The Proto-Munda word which *malīmasa-* reflects was an echo-word of the wellknown type, viz. a combination of two synonymous expressions with partial formal congruence. Only the *ī* is unexpected. Influence of the type *sarīsṛpa-*?

Whilst all these words only convey the meaning of impurity, *kaśmala-* shows the sense-development to "timidity", which has hardly any parallel in IE. tongues (Latin *sordēs* "mourning-dress" is of course a totally different case). In Munda, however, this transition is quite common, cf. S. *khad bad* "miry, muddy, perplexed, anxious".

The Proto-Munda words reflected by these Sanskrit borrowings are derived from the root *ma-la*, cf. *maḷchạ* "stained, spotted, a little soiled; to stain, corrode, rust"; perhaps *malgoṭ'* "unclean, dirty colour, discoloured, tarnished" (prob. blended with *ma-ga*) [40]; *marlaṅ mirlụṅ* "dirty, soiled (children), sad, dejected"; *merlaṅ mirluṅ* "sad, dejected, miserable"; *mirluṅ* "dejected, downcast, sad" (parallel to *jirluṅ* "depressed" from *ḍa-la*); *kolo molo* "dejected, sad, sorrowful, depressed", *dolo molo, ḍholo molo* "dull, unwell, out of sorts, depressed". Mundari has *ḍulu mulu* "sad looking, dejected", *ḍholo molo* "drowsy".

---

[40] Cf. perhaps Skr. *balkasa-* "impure matters" ("Flocken" Caland, Āp S's 19, 4, 8)?

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Skr. *malina-* is not, it seems, used in the sense "dejected"; its metaphorical use in the well known verse of the Hitopadeśa *prāyaḥ samāpannavipattikāle dhiyo 'pi puṁsāṁ malinā bhavanti* is nearly identical with that of *kaluṣa-* in *buddhau kaluṣabhūtāyām* Pañcat. III, śl. 184. But Hindi *malin* means (besides the normal sense "dirty, impure") also "troubled, disturbed (in mind), indisposed, vexed, sad, downcast", which is perhaps due to Munda influence (S. *mulin* "dejected, downcast, sad", on the other hand, seems to have been reborrowed from Aryan). Hindi has also other derivatives from the same Proto-Munda root, which must have been adopted in later times, as *malmalā* "salt, brackish, sad, downcast, depressed", *malbā* "rubbish, dirt, materials of a broken house". These words must be separated from *mal-* in Nep. *alamalla* "perplexed, troubled", for which root see s.vv. *ākula-* and *tumula-*. A more remote cognate of *mal-* "dirty, depressed" is perhaps Bahnar *möl* "verstimmt", for which Schmidt, MKV. 111, proposes an improbable explanation. See further s.v. *bhṛmalá-*.

The diphthong of Hi. *mailā* "dirty" is a vexed problem [41]). It cannot be explained in the same way as the diphthongs in Nep. *ḍaũṭhe*, Mar. *maīd* (see s.vv. *daṇḍá-*, *baṇḍá-*), as many disyllabic variants point to **may-al*, **may-il*, cf. Pkt. *mayala-*, *maïla-*, Nep. *mayal* "dirt, dregs", Tel. *mayal*, *mail* "dirt, foulness, impurity", *mayala* "dirty, foul, unclean, impure" (*maila* "id., dingy, dark-hued, of a grizzled colour, mixed of red, white, yellow, and black"), Tam. *mayilai* "foulness, dirt, ash colour, grey, mixed colour of white and black".

These words are either blendings or, rather, suffixed forms of *may-*, the nasalized variant of *ba-ya*, cf. S. *maila* (<**mayila*), *moela* "dirt, filth, dirty, filthy, soiled", *damaila* "dirty, soiled", *bajrahi* "slovenly, dirty, slatternly", *b(h)ejrahi*, id., *ben'jak' serak'* "dirty", *beje beje* "foul, running, dirty", *bejelgak'* "disgusting, bad-looking, dirty", *bhaskar* "ugly, unshapely"(?), *bhasuḍaṅ* "dirty, slovenly", *bhosḍoṅ* "dirty, besmeared (with ashes, dust, etc.)", *bhosṇḍo*, *bhosṇḍoṅ*, *bhoso*, *bhosoṅga*, id., *bhoṣṭo*, *boṣṭo*, *boṣṭoṅ* "polluted, defiled", *bąsią* "dirty", *urum bhusum*, *uruṅ bhusuṅ* "dusty", *hen'jlaṅ pen'jlaṅ* "slovenly, dirtily", *hejlec' pejlec'* "dirty, untidy", *musrą* "dusty, dirty" (Campbell), *silmoc'* "dirty" (contamination with *gąrsilom*?), etc.

In Dravidian we find two groups of words, the one meaning "dirty", the other "black, dim", between which it is difficult to draw a dividing-line. The first group is represented by Tam. *mai* "blackness, darkness, collyrium, ink, fault, defect, sin, dirt", *maccu*, *māccu* "blemish, fault", *mācu* "spot, stain, blackness" [42]), Kann. *macca*, *macce*, Tel. *macca* "a black spot on the skin, a mole, freckle, scar of a wound", Kann. *māsu* "dirt, impurity", Kann. *masi*, *māsalu*, Tel. *māsi* "dirt", Tel. *māyu* "to

[41]) See Bloch 391 and Additions XV with bibl., Turner s.v. *mailo*.

[42]) See F. Otto Schrader, BSOS 8, 759 (with problematical Uralian connexions).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

become dirty, be destroyed", *masṭu* "dirt, sediment", Kui *māsi* "filth, dirt, stain, wrong, wrong-doing, sin", *māsa* "to make a mistake", etc. Ramaswami Aiyar, who has studied the Dravidian words for "dim, dark, black" in the 'Educational Review' for Aug. 1930, concludes that the base *ma-* has "been very ancient in Dravidian, if not native in this language-family". We shall not enter here into a discussion of these words (which perhaps constitute a separate group) and of Skr. *maṣī-*, *masī-* "bone-black, ink", Tam. *maci* "ink", Hi. *misī*, Nep. *misi*, *missi* "tooth-powder, tooth-paste", S. *misi* "a powder used for tingeing the teeth a black colour (used by low-caste Hindus)", M. *misi* "black tooth-paste", etc. (cf. Tam. *maci-* "to mash, reduce to pulp"). But cf. *masṭu* ~ S. *bosṭo*!

We cannot however ignore the fact that Skr. *kalmāṣa-* "spotted, variegated" (bunt, gesprenkelt, Pet. Dict.), Vāj. S., Taitt. S., etc.; n. "spot, stain", *kalmāṣī-* "a spotted cow", *kalmaṣa-*, m. "dirt, stain, sin" (since Rām., Manu), and *kilbiṣa-*, n. "fault, guilt, sin, offence" (since ṚS), which have a similar meaning and which must be Proto-Munda loan-words on account of the well-known prefixes *kal-*, *kil-*, show a cerebral *ṣ* [43]). As will be pointed out in the Appendix, a cerebral *ṣ* stands for *ž* and cannot be derived from *y*.(as *cc* in Pkt. *macca-*, n. "*malam*", Deśīn. 6, 111, possibly might be). Since *ž* has arisen from *ḍ*, we are thus led to assume a root *ma-ḍa* (*ba-ḍa*). As a matter of fact, Santali has several words which must be referred to such a root, cf. *boḍor* "muddy, turbid, dirty, rotten", *boḍe* "muddy, turbid, dirty", *seḍe beḍe*, *seḍge beḍge* "to make dirty, muddy", *soḍor boḍor* "dirty, soiled", *soroṅ poṭoṅ* "dirty, grimy, soiled, untidy, unclean, slovenly", *soroc' poṭoc'* "hurriedly, slovenly", *loso poṇḍo* "covered with dirt or dust, dirty, dusty", *heraṅ petaṅ* "slovenly, dirty, filthy, unclean, disorderly" (cf. *hejlec' pejlec'* quoted above); nasalized: *mar-* in *maṅga muṛa* "dust-stained, stained, dirty", *marghaṭ* "dirt, filth, unclean, dirty, soiled" (cf. *malgot'* "unclean, dirty colour"), *margaiṭha* "dirty, soiled", *murguc'* = *muiguc'* "dirty". It should be noted that *bhosṇḍo* is a blending of *bas-* and *baḍ-*.

It is clear that in accordance with the phonetic laws upon which the present work is based, it is possible to unite the roots *mal-*, *may-*, and *maž-/maḍ-* under a root *ba-ḍa* "dirty". Cf. perhaps Mon *kha-moit* "dirt". The Munda data do not however allow us to answer the question whether this combination is necessary, nor do they solve the central problem whether these root-variants (if they are so at all) are due to a dialectal ramification of Proto-Munda or rather represent very ancient Austric variants. [See the introductory remarks and note the variation in *mur-guc'* ~ *mui-guc'*, root *mar/may*, blended with *ma-ga*].

---

[43]) Przyluski already combined *kalmaṣa-* and *kilbiṣa-* in his article entitled "Emprunts anaryens en indo-iranien" (Monde Oriental 28, 1934, 140 ff.), but connected them with Cham *bih* "poison", etc. IE. etymologies have been proposed e.g., by H. Petersson, Studien über die idg. Heteroklisie 146, and Scheftelowitz, KZ. 53, 253 (*kilbiṣa-*), 258, n. 2 (*kalmaṣa-*).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

15. *káśmaśa-*.

This word is only once attested in Ath. S. 5, 21, 1 (in a hymn to the war-drum) *vidveṣáṁ káśmaśaṁ bhayám amítreṣu ní dadhmasi* "mutual hate, confusion, fear, we put into our enemies" (Whitney). The exact meaning of *káśmaśa-* is unknown. Roth suggested "Bestürzung" on account of its supposed relationship to *kaśmala-*, and Whitney remarked that it "is very possibly only a misreading for *kaśmala-*, as equivalent to which it is here translated". Although a word-analysis *káśma-śa-* is out of the question (see s.v. *kaśmala-*), the sense assigned to the word may be correct. Like *kaśmala-*, it must contain the prefix *kaś-*, hence the radical element is *maśa-*. We have no reason to regard it as a misreading as it is likely that other derivatives from the same root occur in Aryan, cf. Pkt. *musahaṁ* "agitation of the mind" (*manasa ākulatā*, Deśīn. 6, 134), which contains the same Proto-Munda suffix *-ha-* as *kalaha-*, *laḍaha-*, etc.

The radical element occurs in S. *mọc' mọc'*, *mọmọmọc'* "dejected, downcast, sad, feeble", *mas mas*, *mas masao*, *mus musạu* "indisposed, out of sorts", M. *dhundur musā* "dejected, sad", *duru musu* "ill, indisposed", *mas masao* "indisposed", *mos moso* "lazy" (?), which may further be connected with *ba-ya* "dirty" (see s.v. *kaśmala-* and note *malīmasa-*). They must probably be kept apart from *mọs mọsọ* "silent, reserved (sulky or dejected)", *musuc'* "quiet, reserved", *masac' musuc'* "taciturn, retired, unsociable, to keep oneself aloof", *mạsuạ* "unsociable, indolent, lazy", *mọc mọcọ* "sulky, pouting", which convey a different meaning and belong to *ba-ya* "to turn aside, be sulky" (cf. *bhẹn'cọk'* "to sulk", etc.).

If this explanation of *káśmaśa-* is correct, its meaning must have been "dejectedness, lack of self-confidence, shyness, timidity".

16. Pkt. *kassa-* "mud".

Cf. Deśīn. 2, 2 *kasso tathā kaccharo paṅkaḥ*. Bloch, p. 304, compares Skr. *kaccara-* "dirty", Hi. *kacrā* "fragments", Si. *kaciro* "bit of vegetables", etc. (cf. Turner s.vv. *kacar* and *kasar*), which may be correct for *kaccharo*. As for *kassa-*, Paravastu Venkata Ramanujaswami, in the 2nd ed. of the Deśīnāmamālā, derives it from Dravidian *kasa*, *kasavu*, but Tamil *kacā*, *kacavu* "a fibrous plant" and Telugu *kasavu*, *kasuvu* "grass, straw, sweepings" can hardly account for it. We may rather compare K. *kāsā* "earth, dust, dirt", S. *hasa* "soil, earth, land", M. Ho *hāsā* "earth, mud, soil".

17. Skr. lex. *kāsū-* "illness" (Hemac.).

Also written *kāśū-* Uṇādis. 1, 87 (= *vikaladhātuḥ* and *śaktiḥ* "spear", according to Ujjvala). Cf. K. *kāsū*, Kh. *kosū* "pain, to ache", S. *haso* "pain, to hurt, ache", M. *hāsu* "illness, to be ill, to suffer", Ho *hāsu* "to be ill", So. *ĕsú-* "fever", *ĕsú-dā* "pain", *asú* "to pain". With prefix *ka-*, cf. Palaung *shū* "pain".

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

18. *kuṇṭha-* "blunt, dull".

Since Mhbh. and Rām.; when metaphorically used it means "vexed" (*bāṣpakuṇṭhakaṇṭha-* Daśak. 100, 15—16 Ag.) or "incapable" (with inf., Vikramāṅkad. 18, 40). The participle *kuṇṭhita-* (same sense) is used since Kālidāsa. Several attempts have been made to explain it as a word of IE. descendance: Franke connected it with Greek *ψυλλός* (see Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, 170), Uhlenbeck s.v. regards it as Middle Indian on account of mod. Persian *kund* "blunt", Bal. *kunt* "blunt, coarse, silly", whereas Tedesco, JAOS. 65, 97 briefly indicates a new explanation (from *kṛttá-*). Its Proto-Munda origin is however beyond question on account of several Indo-Aryan words with similar meanings ("short, stunted"), which show the variants *kuṇṭ-, kuṭ-, kuṇ-*, and Proto-Munda prefixes; cf. Pa. *kuṇṭa-* "stunted, dwarfish", *lakuṇṭaka-* "dwarf", Bashkarik (Dardic) *lúkuṭ* "small" (Kshm. *lŏkuṭᵘ*, Pashto lw. *lakuṭe*, etc., see Morgenstierne, Acta Or. 18, 241); Skr. lex. *matkuṇa-*, m. "a beardless man, an elephant without tusks, a small elephant", *matkuṇā-*, f. "pudendum sine pube". The last words are probably blendings of *kuṇ-* and *maṭ-* (see *baṇḍá-*).

The Proto-Munda root *ga-ḍa* shows the same combination of meanings as *ḍa-ḍa* (see *śuṇṭhá-, daṇḍá-*), *wa-ḍa* (see *baṇḍá-*), etc. viz. "1. stunted, short, small; 2. bare, barren". (As a matter of fact, they may be explained as very early derivatives from an ultimate radical element *ḍa*[44]). The sense "blunt" is met with in S. *maskuṭa* "blunt (of soft iron")[45], *kọ̄ṛē, kọ̄ṛēc', kọ̄ṛēṭ'* "having the edge turned, blunt", *koṛga* "turned edge, crumpled, creased, blunt", *koṛgo, koṛgoṭ'* "blunt, having a turned edge", M. *bhokoṭo, bhokṭo* "blunt". As for Pa. *kuṇṭha-* "cripple", see s.v. *khora-*.

To the same word family belongs *kūṭá-* "not horned" (used of oxen, etc., since Ath. S.). Some scholars hold it to be identical with *kúṭa-* "bone of the forehead, horn" (see Walde-Pokorny, I, 433), but this word actually means "mallet, hammer", see Burrow, Transactions Philol. Soc. 1945, 92. The same scholar suggests to connect *kūṭá-* "not horned" with Tam. *kūḷai* "that which is short", *kūḷai-k-kiṭā* "tailless he-buffalo", *kūḷai-k-kompaṉ* "an ox with blunt horns", Kann. *kūḷe, kūḷe* "stump, stubble" (ibid., p. 95 f.). But cf. S. *gutruṭ'* "hornless, half-grown", *guṭraṛ* "short in stature, small, undersized", and, with a Proto-Munda prefix: S. *aṭkuṛa* "childless, barren, heirless"[46] etc. Kui *gūṭa* "a stump, stumpy, short, dwarfish" and *gūṭi* "stumpy, shortened" must accordingly be loanwords, as the Austro-Asiatic origin of the S. words appears from Mon *khut, khüt* "to be blunt, not pointed", *kun* "a dwarf, to be hump-backed" which may be connected with Mon *sakut* "to cut off, break off, omit,

---

[44]) See "Munda and Indonesian" (to be published in "Orientalistische Bijdragen").
[45]) Blending of *wa-ḍa* (see *baṇḍá-*) and *ga-ḍa*.
[46]) Kui *aṭkuna*, id. (from Oriya).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

to be cut off, to be scarce", *thakut* "to sever, be severed" (*takut ā* "to be cut off, severed"), *tekut* "to cut in lengths or pieces, a piece cut or broken off, fragment", *pekut* "to cheapen", *kut* "to cut off, amputate". S. *koṛa* "boy", *kuṛi* "girl" are probably to be derived from this root ("small" > "child", see s.vv. *ḍimba-*, *śuṇṭhá-*, *baṇḍá-*, etc.); Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 135, n. 3, suggests a Drav. origin, but cf. p. 50.

This explanation of *kūṭá-* is supported by the fact that the synonyms of *kūṭá-* are mostly of Proto-Munda origin, cf. *tūparáa-* "hornless" (: M. *ṭupā*, *ṭumpu* "blunt"), Skr. *muṇḍin-* "hornless" (: S. *muṇḍṛạ* "having his hair shaved"), Pkt *maṭṭa-* "*śṛṅgahīnaḥ*" (: Skr. *baṇḍá-* "maimed, crippled"). Tam. *kūḷai*, Kann. *kuḷe*, *kuḷe*, are probably borrowings from Munda. See further s.v. *khaḍga-* "sword".

Note. By the side of *matkuṇa-* "beardless man" there is a different word *matkuṇa-*, m. "bug" (since Manu and Suśr.); cf. Hi. *makhūn*, Guj. *mākaṇ*, Sgh. *makuṇā*, id. (and Hi. *camokan*, *camūkan* "louse, tick", < **carma-matkuṇa-* according to Turner s.v. *makunu*), Pj. *mā̃gnū* "bed-bug". Both the connexion with Gothic *maþa* (Uhlenbeck, recently Specht, Ursprung der idg. Deklination 161) and the etymological explanation proposed by Pisani, ZDMG 97, 1943, 329 (*mṛd-* + Gr.*κώνωψ*) disregard the variants Skr. lex. *kolakuṇa-*, *koṇakuṇa-* "bug" (echowords from a root *koṇ/kuṇ*), *utkuṇa-*, *uṅkuṇa-*, m. id. (Sgh. *ukuṇā*, m., *ikiṇī*, f. "louse", hence Tam. *ukuṇam* "bed-bug"), AMg. *ḍhiṅkuṇa-* (cf. *ḍhaṁkuṇa-*, *ḍheṁkuṇa-*, m., Deśīn. 4, 14; Mar. *ḍhekūṇ*, *ḍhēkūṇ*) "bug" [47]), Skr. *kuṇa-*, m. "a parasitic insect" (cf. Tel. *khuṇamu* "an insect that is found in timber, and ingraves lines under the bark of a tree", Tam. *kuṇu* "worm, maggot"), *kuṇin-* "a sort of hornet" (thus pw.; *kuṇī kaṇabhaḥ* Suśr.). Hence *matka-* "bug", recorded by lexicographical works as the Rājanighaṇṭu, must be due to a wrong analysis of *matkuṇa-*.

Although it is clear that the radical element of these words is *kuṇ-*, its derivation is rather obscure. On the one hand, we find *kiṭibha-*, m. "bug" (Hemac.), *kiṇa-*, m. "woodworm" (Hārāv.), perh. connected with Kum. *kino* "an insect which adheres to the skin of cattle" (cf. Turner s.v. *kirnu*); their Austro-Asiatic origin is probable on account of Kh. *toṅken* "bug", Mon *sakit*, *tekit* "bug", *thekit* "a bed-bug", *kit*, *sakit* "to bite" (cf. *kemit* "mosquito"?). On the other hand, Skr. *kuṇa-* "a parasitic insect" cannot be separated from *ghuṇa-*, m. "wood-worm" (Ṣaḍv. Br.), *ghurghura-*, *ghurghurghā*, *gharghūrghā-*, id. (lex.), which point to a root *guḍ-*; this may also be at the base of Nep. *ghocnu* "to pierce, prick, stab, perforate". The question as to the ultimate origin of *guḍ-* cannot yet be answered, cf. Tam. *koṭṭu-* "to sting as a scorpion, a wasp", *koṭukku* "sting of a wasp, hornet, scorpion"; Tel. *kuṭṭu-* "to prick, bore, pierce, sting", *kuṭṭu* "a stitch,

---

47) According to Pischel, Gramm. der Pkt. Sprachen § 212 (cf. Bloch 341) < **ḍaṁkhuṇa-* ("mit Umtreten des Hauches") on account of Mar. *ḍākhṇē* "to bite" (< Skr. *daṁś-*).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

a prick or puncture, piercing", Kui *kuta* "to prick", etc. Is *matkuṇa-* a Dravidian word with a Proto-Munda prefix added, like S. *toponḍ* (see p. 92)? But cf. S. *aṭkuṭi* "a prickly annual", Malto *aṭkuṭi* "thistles" (prob. Munda lw.). Connexion of *kaṇabha-*, m. "hornet" (Suśr.) is doubtful.

19. *k u b j á-* "crooked, hump-backed".

1. First occurrence in Vāj. S., since Mhbh. Rām. in common use. No plausible explanation has been given hitherto. Some scholars derive it from **kubjhá-* < **kubh-k̂o-* on account of *kubhrá-*, m. "humpbacked bull" (Maitr. S.), while others assume IE. root-variation on a large scale (e.g. Persson, Beiträge zur idg. Wortforschung 104, n. 4, and 106, n. 3). Maurice Bloomfield, in a brief note entitled "On the Origin of the so-called Root-Determinatives" (Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc. 24, 1893, XXVII ff.) points out that "Just as *kubjá-* "hunchbacked" seems to betray in its final sound its congeneric relation to *ny-ubja-* "crooked-back", so also *urubjá-* "wide open" is the opposite of *kubjá-*. We have here a start in the direction of a suffix *-ubja-*, whose productivity is limited, however, by lack of opportunity" (Similarly Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. II, 1, 12).

Santali has numerous derivatives from a root *ka-ba* "bent, crooked", e.g. *kabea kobea*, id., *kabuạ* "stooping" [48], *kob(ṛ)e*, *kombe*, *hombe*, *hombe* "crooked, bent", *kumbeṭ'* "an arched, bent piece of bamboo or other suitable stuff, to bend, curve", *hombo* "to crouch, hide", *ombak'* "to bend down on all fours", K. *homba* "to bend down, stoop", etc. The native Munda character of these words appears from the vocalic variation, the change *k* > *h* > *-*, the aspiration *k* > *kh* in Pa. Pkt. *khujja-*, Mar. *khujā* "dwarfish" (see Turner s.v. *kujo*), the consonantal interchange *b* : *bh* (Skr. *kubjá-* : *kubhrá-*), *p* : *b* (e.g. Nep. *kupre*, *kubre* "a hunchback", *kupro*, *kubro* "hunchbacked, deformed, bent"), and the nasalization (in Nep. *khumle*, *khomle* "bent", *khumcinu* "to be bent", Pkt. *khummia-* "bent"). Cf. also Khimi (Burman dialect) *kabu* "to fall down (prostrately)" [49], which is an Austro-Asiatic loanword like *ang* "to open the mouth", *säning* "year".

Many of the Santali derivatives from *ka-ba* contain an additional element *j*, e.g. *kabja kubjạ* "crooked, bent", *kobjo* "bent, stooping, crooked". Although word-derivation by means of suffixes must have been rather common in the Proto-Munda of the Yajur-Vedic period (see, e.g., *khaḍgá-*, *phalgú-*), it seems doubtful whether we may regard Proto-Munda

---

[48]) Cf. Beng. *hāmlā* "to be eager, fall down on all fours in eagerness", *humṛi* "a fall on one's face", *humṛā* "push through eagerness, fall face forward" (: *hāmā* "crawl", Chatterji, 405, 888 f.), obviously contaminations of two different words.

[49]) See R. Shafer, Khimi Grammar and Vocabulary, BSOAS. 11, 386 ff.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

**kubja* as a case of suffixation. When trying to analyse the Santali vocabulary we often encounter a particular difficulty: many words appear to contain the characteristics of two (or more) different roots so as to exclude a decision as to their origin. Thus we find S. *kaḍbur, kuḍbur* "to bow, bend head down", *kaḍbuc', kaṭbuc', kuḍbuc', koṭbe, koṭbet', koṭboṅ* "bent, crooked", *kaṭbuṅ* "lanky and bent, tall and stooping" and on the other hand *kaḅbuṅ*, id., *kubḍhaḍ, kubdhaḍ* "hump-backed, short-necked and round-shouldered", *kumḍhuc'* "short-bodied (somewhat hump-backed), to crouch, to roll oneself up", *koḅbṛe* "crooked, bent". They may be derived either from *ka-ba* (with infixed or suffixed *ḍ*) or from *ka-ḍa*, a root which conveys the same meaning as *ka-ba*. In reality they rather represent blendings, in which the two roots have fused. It should be noted that, owing to the extra-ordinarily large number of homonymous roots in Munda, recourse has been had to several expedients in order to distinguish between the homonyms. Thus Munda has made a particular use of the "echo-words" (which are found on the whole area of Austric languages, in Dravidian, etc.) by combining dialectal variants of one and the same word, each of the components thus defining the other [50]). The same tendency may account for numerous cases of "blending".

This explanation holds good also for *kubjá-*, as it cannot be separated from *ka-ya*, e.g. S. *kaya koyo, koyo koyo, kayaṅ kuyuṅ, kuyuṅ kuyuṅ, kaja kojo, kijọ koḷọ, kijạ kaje, kojo, kujạ* "bent, stooping", *koṇ'jṛẹ* "crooked, bent", etc.

2. Skr. *kubhrá-*, m. "humpbacked bull" (Maitr. S. 2, 5, 3) is generally considered an inherited IE. word (see Walde-Pokorny, I, 374, and the other authorities quoted above). But Hi. *kubaṛ* = *kub* "a hump on the back", *kubṛā* = *kubbā* "humpbacked", Mar. *kubaḍ, kubḍā*, Guj. *kubḍũ*, adj. (see Turner s.v. *kubro*) and Mar. *khubaṛ* "hump on the back" point to a cerebral. They cannot, of course, be derived from *kubhrá-* (as is also shown by their different consonants: *b* for *bh*, and partly *kh* for *k*), but they are independent younger borrowings from (Proto-)Munda. As such, they represent more faithfully the Munda original since they render exactly the Munda *ṛ*, which in the Vedic language could only be represented by the phoneme *r*. It will be observed that Munda seems to have but slightly changed since the Vedic period (so far as its phonological aspect is concerned).

It follows that Ved. *kubhrá-* reflects a Proto-Munda **kubhṛa*, which is identical with S. *kubḍhaḍ* "humpbacked", quoted above.

3. A similar explanation may be suggested for *kū́bara-, kūbarī-* "the pole of a carriage" (Maitr. S. 2, 1, 11, Kāṭh. S. 10, 5), Pa. *kubbara-*. In

---

[50]) Cf. e.g. K. Wulff, Zs. f. Kolonialsprachen I (1911), 234 for possible Indonesian parallels, and Tedesco, JAOS. 65 (1945) 95, on Indo-Aryan identity-compounds.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

older works on Indo-European etymology it was connected with Greek *κυβερνάω* "to steer", Lithuanian *kumbrỹs* "plough-handle", but the Greek word stands for **κυμερνάω* (cf. Cyprian *κυμερηναι*) and if any relation between *κυμερ-* and *kūbar-* exists at all, this cannot be accounted for satisfactorily. R. Fohalle, Mélanges Vendryes 164 f., concludes a discussion of *κυβερνάω* with the words: "la racine peut être indo-européenne; le mot ne l'est pas" [51]). Modern authorities are therefore inclined to separate both words, the more so as the long *ū* of *kǔbara-* is also an argument against their supposed relationship (see Walde-Pokorny I, 467; "vorläufig unklar" Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, 184). As a matter of fact, Ved. *kǔbara-* is identical with Hi. *kŭbaṛ* "a hump on the back", *kŭbṛā* "humpbacked, crooked". (In Shahabad *kūbaṛ* denotes a crooked beam, see Grierson, Bihar Peasant Life § 1260). Skr. *kūbara-* is accordingly a dialectal variant of *kubhrá-*; cf. also Pkt. *kuhaḍa-* "*kubjaḥ*" (Deśīn. 2, 36) from **kubhaḍ*. As for the meaning of *kūbara-*, cf. S. *kubeṭ'*, *kumbeṭ'* "an arched piece of bamboo", *kāṛba*, *kāṛmba*, M. *kaṛbā*, Ho *kābā*, Kh. *kārbā* "plough-handle" (orig. "crooked", cf. Kui *koṭi* "plough-handle", from the well-known Drav. root *kuṭ-* "crooked").

4. *Kūrpara-*, m. "elbow" (sometimes "knee"), Pa. *kappara-*, Pkt. *koppara-* present some difficulties. *Kūrpara-* belongs to the Class. language (Suśr. Bālar., Daśak. 63, 15 Agashe, Gopālakelic.). The following are some variants recorded by lexicographers: *kaphoṇi-*, *kaphaṇi-* "elbow", *ḳuphaṇī-*, id. (Hemac. Uṇādigaṇasūtra), *kapolī-* "knee joint"; perhaps *kapola-*, m. "cheek" (since Rām. Suśr. Yājñav.) is connected. There are more instances of one word denoting both the arm and the knee joint, e.g. S. *ṭhōṛē* "the ankle, the elbow joint, the knee joint". The primary meaning of such words has prob. been "bend", which excludes the connexion of *kapola-* with *kapāla-*, n. "shell, potsherd, skull" (Pet. Dict., Solmsen, Beiträge zur griech. Wortforschung 198, PTS. Dict.). It is fairly certain that *kūrpara-*, *kapolī-*, etc. are Proto-Munda words [52]). As a matter of fact, Tam. *kopparam*, Tel. *kopparamu* "elbow" and Tam. *kavuḷ*, Mal. *kaviḷ* "cheek, temple of an elephant" [53]) may easily be explained as loanwords. It is however hard to decide whether we have to analyse *ka-ba* + suffix *ḍa* (or *ṇa*) or prefix *ka*(*r*) + root *pa-ḍa*, since all the words quoted have a similar element *-ḍa-* (*-ṇa-*) in the third syllable; cf. perhaps also Ved. *kaphoḍá-* (v.l. *kaphauḍá-*, *kapheḍá-*, *kaphaujhá-*) in Ath. S. 10, 2, 4 ("elbow"?). If Bloch 317 is right in connecting *kaphaṇi-* "elbow" with Pkt. *khavaa-*, m. "shoulder" (*skandhaḥ* Deśīn. 2, 67), Hi. Pj. *khawā* "shoulder,

---

[51]) As for Lith. *kumbrỹs*, its prim. meaning is "protuberance" (cf. e.g. Petersson. Stud. über idg. Heteroklisie 75).

[52]) Impossible is the connexion with O. Pruss. *klupstis* "knee" (Scheftelowitz, KZ. 53, 257). Burrow, Transact. Philol. Soc. 1945, 96, derives *kūrpara-* from Dravidian.

[53]) Ramaswami Aiyar, Ojhā-Volume 16, questions the derivation of *kavuḷ* from *kapola-*.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

shoulder-blade", Guj. *khabho*, Mar. *khawā* "articulation de l'épaule", this point would be decided, but the meaning "shoulder" is rather different (cf. Kann. *koppara* "shoulder-blade"? Meaning uncertain). Nevertheless, in the absence of decisive materials, it may be suggested as a working hypothesis that the original forms **kū-r-p-aṛ*, **kap-oḍ* (**kap-ol*), **kap-oṇ* are identical with **kūb-aḍ* (in *kūbara-*, etc.). The connexion of Skr. *kapola-* "cheek" is doubtful. It has also been compared to Sakai *kapō*, Semang *kāpo*, Nicob. *tạpōạ*, etc., which excludes the former explanation [54]).

20. *kuliṅga-* "the fork-tailed shrike".

Attested in Mhbh. 1, 61, 9 Bomb. (1, 55, 8 Poona has a different reading), Vāsavad., Bhāg. Pur.; *gṛhakuliṅga-* Suśr., femin. *kuliṅgī-* Bhāg. P., *kuliṅgaka-* "a certain bird of prey", Caraka. Moreover the form *kaliṅga-* is recorded by lexicographers and (as a false reading) by Nīlakaṇṭha in his commentary on Mhbh. 1, 61, 9. A different sense has *kuliṅga-* "sparrow" (Bhāvapr., lex.) beside which *kuliṅgaka-*, *kuliṅkaka-*, *guliṅka-* are recorded (lex.). Cf. Pa. *kuliṅka-*, *kuḷiṅka-* "a small bird", Tam. *kaliṅkam* "sparrow" (lex.).

Schmidt, MKV. 88, while connecting Nikob. *kạlāṅ* "white bellied sea-eagle, Cuncuma lemogaster" with Khmer *khleṅ*, Stieng. *kliṇ* "kite", points to Skr. *kaliṅga-*. It is however very improbable that the Khmer word should have been borrowed from Sanskrit as we find the same word in Khasi, viz. *khlīṅ* "kite, eagle", with the "compositional form" *līṅ* which is used for it in certain circumstances [55]). It can hardly be doubted that Skr. *kuliṅga-*, *kaliṅga-* reflects the Proto-Munda equivalent of the words quoted. The only difficulty lies in the fact that several lexicographical works (Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, Hemacandra and Medinī) mention a word *kalikāra-* with the same sense. Since **kalika-* can hardly be connected with *kuliṅga-* it must be a different word (cf. *kulikā-* "a certain bird" VS. 24, 24, lex. *kālīka-* "ardea jaculator"?).

It seems reasonable to derive the name of the people of the Kaliṅgas (who were settled on the Telugu coast from the Kistna to the Mahānadī, see Pargiter, JAS. Beng. 66 [1897], p. 98 f., Hobson-Jobson, *s.v. Kling*) from the name of this bird, which then must have been the totem of a Proto-Munda tribe living in that country. S. Lévi has already envisaged this possibility in his article in the Journal Asiatique 1923 II (= Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, p. 100), but prefers to connect *kaliṅga-* with Tibetan *gliṅ*, Telugu *laṅka* "island". Although the Kaliṅgas dwelt in a region that was rich in islands and where, moreover, the Telugu word may have been in common use, his conclusion is not cogent.

---

54) S. K. Chatterji, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, p. XXII, Kuiper, Acta Or. 16, 304; see also Ramaswami Aiyar, Ojhā-Volume, p. 15 f. Cf. Bahnar *bŏ*, id. (Schmidt, MKV. 86).

55) Roberts, Simplified Khassi Grammar, p. 6.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

S. Lévi (engl. transl. pp. 80 and 100) and Przyluski, J. As. 1926 I, 5 n. 1, further compare *bhuliṅga-* which is the name of one of the tribes of the *Sālvas*, and of a certain bird, cf. *bhuliṅga-* (Manm. II, 6a: Tam. *puliṅkam* "sparrow"), *bhūliṅgaśakuni-*, *bhūliṅgaśakuna-* (Mhbh. 2, 41, 18 and 44, 27 f., 12, 169, 10). This connexion may be correct, though it should be noticed that the word *ku-liṅga-* was in use all over the Austro-Asiatic area, whereas *bhu-liṅga-* is isolated. Cf. Mon *klaiṅ* "eagle", Khmer *khlēṅ*, Bahnar *klaṅ* "aigle pêcheur", Semang Bukit *kĕlăṅ* "white-headed eagle", Tembi *klaak*^{n}, Senoi *kĕ-lāk*^{n}, Sakai *cep kĕlak* "eagle kite", Central Sakai *klāk* "hawk", *klāṅ-blok* "roc, garuda", *cīm-klāk* "hawk, eagle", Achinese *klĕṅ* "kite", Malay *laṅ* (older form *hĕlaṅ*) "eagle, kite".

21. *kuvinda-* "weaver".

A late and rare word, cf. Brahmavaiv. Pur., Kathās. (Pet. D. s.v. *kaṁsakāra-* and Add. to vol. V), S'aṅkara on Bādar. (pw), Yaśastilaka (Schmidt, Nachtr.); cf. also Sāhityakaum. 7 (p. 71) *deva, tvam asi kuvindaḥ paṭayasi ca guṇān pratikṣaṇaṁ citrān*, etc. The form *kupinda-* (Uṇ. 4, 87) points to *kubinda-* (with unvoicing of *b* indicating a foreign origin).

In Acta Orient. 16, 305 I have connected *kuvinda-* with S. *bindi* "spider" on the supposition that its original sense has been "weaver". In AO. 17, 315 ff. attention was drawn to *Kuvinda-* which occurs in the Gopālakelicandrikā as a tribal name (*Ābhīrā Yavaṇāḥ Kuvindaśavarāḥ*) [56]). Its exact form (*Kuvinda-*, as Caland writes it, or *Kubinda-*) could not be determined as the Leyden MS. as a rule uses the akṣara *va* for both *ba* and *va*. But *Kuvinda-* also occurs several times in the Bhāratamañjarī as a designation of an aboriginal tribe, cf. 7, 394 *S'akān Muṇḍān Kuvindāṁśca* (corresponding to Mhbh. 7, 119 where only Kirātas are mentioned, but cf. 7, 121, 14 and 43: *Kulinda-*, ed. Bomb.); 2, 114 *Kuvindaviṣayaṁ jitvā* (:Mhbh. 2, 26, 1 *Kulindaviṣaye*). Whatever may be the correct reading, Kṣemendra's work confirms the conclusion drawn from the Gopālak. Cf. also the comm. on Sāhityakaum.: *kuṁ pṛthivīṁ vindatīti kuvindo rājā jātiviśeṣaḥ tantuvāyaśca*.

It has been suggested (AO. 17, 316, n. 1) that the *Kuvindas* were a caste of weavers with totemistic relations to the spider. But other professional castes could equally claim the spider as their totem. In a study on Orissan ethnology (JBORS. 19, 1933, 333) it is stated that "the *Tiyar* fisherman has the fishtrap (*bājākāṭhi*) for his *Santak*", whereas "the fishing caste of *Kewaṭ* has for its *Santak* the *saringā* which is a shuttle for weaving fishing-nets". In fact, just as the spider catches its prey with the cobweb it has woven, so the fisherman has to use his net. Hence the modern Binds (once mentioned in the Vāj. S. as *baindá-*), a caste of

[56]) Stieng *beṅ* and Besisi *bŏṅ* are nasalized variants of *bih* and cannot accordingly be connected with S. *bindi*, M. *bind-ram*, Kh. *bendi*.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

fishermen and cultivators [57]), owe their name to their net (Sāyaṇa *bindur jālaṁ tena jīvatīti baindaḥ*!). Similarly *jālika-* means "fowler" and "spider" (Böhtl.).

A parallel instance is *kaulika-* "weaver" (Pañcat.), *kolika-*, id. (Yaśastil.). These apparently reflect a word **koḍika-*, which is preserved in Tam. *kōṭikam* "cloth", *kōṭikar* "weaver". Like *kuvinda-*, **koḍika-* is connected with a word for "spider", cf. Skr. *markaṭa(ka)-*, *markaṭī-*, *markaḍikā-* "spider", *markaṭavāsa-* "cobweb", Pa. *makkaṭaka-* "spider", *makkaṭa(ka)-sutta-* "spider's thread", Pkt. *makkoḍā-* "spider" (Deśīn. 6, 142), *makkoḍa-* "a heap for stringing together by a machine" (ibid., see Turner s.v. *mākuro* "spider"), *kolia-* "spider" (2, 65). As for Mar. *koḷī* "spider" and Si. *korī* "weaver, spider", see however A. Master, BSOS. 9, 1009 f.) [58]).

We may suppose that the **koḍika* originally were a tribe which had a spider-totem. In view of Pkt. *makkaḍa-bandha-* "a chain worn over the shoulder" (Tam. *makkaṭṭu* "waist-band"), the original sense of the root element *kaṭ-*, *koḍ-* may be supposed to have been "to twist". If this is correct, the word for "spider" may further be connected with Skr. *kaṭa-* "a straw mat", *kaṭaka-* "id., cord, string, bracelet" (see s.v. *śṛṅkhalā-*).

22. *kokila-*, m. "lighted coal" (Lex.).

This word is only recorded in the Trikāṇḍaśeṣa. Cf. Pkt. *koilā-*, "charcoal" (*kāṣṭhāṅgārāḥ*, Deśīn. 2, 49), Hi. Nep. etc. *koilā*, id. Bloch, p. 316, compares it to Pkt. *kouā-* "fire of dry cowdung" (*karīṣāgniḥ*, Deśīn. 2, 48), and connects these words with Mar. *koḷājṇẽ* "to burn", etc. (Skr. *kuḍi-* "*dāhe*"), whereas Chatterji 404 takes it as meaning "cuckoo-coloured". The latter and Turner (s.v. *koilā*) derive the NIA. words from a Middle Indian original **koilla-*.

The Santali word corresponding to Hi. *koilā* is *kuilạ* (cf. M. *koilā*, *kuilā*, K. *kōlyā*). Although this is probably an Aryan loanword, it cannot be separated from S. *koya*, *kuyạ* "black, smirched", *kuilạ* "black, dark-skinned", and the other words quoted s.v. *kajjala-*. That words for charcoal have actually been derived from the root *ka-ya* "black" is shown by Skr. lex. *ajjhala-*, m. "charcoal" (Trikāṇḍaś.), which is obviously a dialectal variant of *kajjala-* (with loss of initial *h* < *k* as in *āvila-*). *Kokila-* is accordingly the Sanskritized form of Pkt. *koïlā-* (from Proto-Munda **ko(y)ila* = S. *kuilạ*), which has been created on the analogy of Pkt. *koïla-*: Skr. *kokila-* "cuckoo".

23. *khaḍga-*, m. "sword".

1. Since Mhbh., Rām. Neither the connexion with Greek *φάσγανον*, nor that with Old Irish *claideb* "sword" is plausible. On the last word,

[57]) See Acta Orient. 17, 307 ff.

[58]) So. *kukkúdi-yaṅ* "spider" is ambiguous on account of its synonym *tuttúdi-yaṅ*.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

see J. Vendryes, Mélanges de linguistique offerts à M. Ferdinand de Saussure (Paris 1908), pp. 309—321, and H. Pedersen, Vergl. Gramm. der keltischen Sprachen II, 29; as for *khaḍga-*, cf. Wackernagel, I, 170, Vendryes 309 f. The origin of *khaḍga-* is still obscure and its structure does not confirm the idea that it is inherited from prim. Indo-European. A variant **khaṇḍa-* (cf. Tam. *kaṇṭam* "sword" in the lexicographical work of Piṅgala) has left some traces in NIA., cf. Hi. Beng. *khāṛā*, Guj. *khāḍū*, Panj. *khaṇḍā*, Mar. *khāḍā*, Gypsy *xanró* (see Turner s.v. *khāṛo*). Bloch 318 observes that only the first element of these words recalls *khaḍga-*, and supposes the nasal to be due to a contamination with the word-family of *khaṇḍ-* "to break". As it seems reasonable to suppose some connexion between this root and the word for "sword", we shall first have to examine more closely the derivatives from this root.

Skr. *khaṇḍa-* "broken, crippled, defective, not full (moon)" Mhbh. Rām. etc.; m.n. "break, fragment, piece, part, section (of a book, Ait. Ār., Kena Up.), sickle (of the moon)", *khaṇḍaka-*, m. "piece, part", *khaṇḍikā-*, f., id. (Kāś. on Pāṇ. 3, 4, 51; see Schmidt, Nachtr.) are usually connected with *kāṇḍa-* (see below) and with Lith. *skéldėti* "to burst" (Fortunatov, Lidén, Studien zur altind. und vergl. Sprachgesch. 88 with bibl., Petersson, Studien zu Fortunatovs Regel 46 f., 51, 53, Walde-Pokorny I, 436 with bibl.). The inferential form IE. **kolndo-* cannot however be correct as there is a variant with *g*, cf. *gaṇḍa-* "section, piece, trunk" (Divyāvad., Kathās.), *gaṇḍikā-*, f. "piece" (Divyāvad.). Owing to the false premise that *khaṇḍa-* is an IE. word, no attention has been given to these variants although in the Addenda to the shorter Pet. Dict. (VII, 337) it is expressly stated that *gaṇḍa-* is identical with *khaṇḍa-*. Cf. Nep. *gīṛnu, gēṛnu* "to cut into pieces, kill". Further derivatives are *khaṇḍayati* "breaks or cuts to pieces, divides, dispels, hurts, wounds, destroys, interrupts, violates, etc.", *khaṇḍila-* "a small section" (Mān. GS., Harṣac.), *khaṇḍalaka-* "a small piece" (Harṣac.), *khaṇḍiman-*, m. "fragmentary state", lex. *khaḍa-*, m. "splitting", and *kharvayati* (*kharvita-* Kathās. 51, 1, Gopālakelic. 43, 17). Beside *khaṇḍayati* the Dhātup. records *khuṇḍayati, khoḍayati* (cf. *khurati "chedane, khaṇḍane, kṣore"*).

The various phonetic changes, which these words presuppose, suggest a Proto-Munda, rather than a Dravidian, origin. As a matter of fact, modern Munda has a great many words which must be traced back to a root *ga-ḍa* "in pieces", e.g., S. *guṇḍa, guṇḍa guṇḍi* "fragments, remnants, small bits, to make into do., to grind" (cf. M. *guṇḍā* "crumbs", Mark 7, 28), *gaṇḍa guṇḍa* "fragments, crumbs, to break into do., to grind small" (cf. Tel. *gandarulu* "fragments, bits", a loanword), *guṇḍuc'* "excrements (in small quantity)", *giṇḍra* "a piece, bit", *kuṭra* "a fragment, bit, piece, to cut into pieces, divide", *kaṭra kuṭra, kuṭra kuṭri, kuṭra muṭra* "bits, fragments, small pieces, to divide, cut into pieces", *kuṭri kuṭri* "in small divisions", *kiṭra* "fragment, piece, to divide into pieces", *kaṭi kuṭi* "in

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

pieces, to cut into do.", *khaṇḍa khaṇḍi, khaṇḍa (k)huṇḍi* "to cut into pieces", *khiṇḍi huṇḍi, khini khudri (huḍi, huṇḍi)* "to tear into pieces", *kheṇḍeḍ' beḳreḍ'* "scattered, in small pieces", K. *kūdkā, kuṭkā* "piece, bit, crumb", *kūdkā-kī* "to break into pieces", Kh. *kūṛā* "powdered".

Skr. *khaḍga-* is formed with the same guttural suffix as, e.g., *phalgú-* "weak", *phalgú-* "reddish", *khaḍgá-* "rhinoceros". This morphological detail excludes an etymological connexion with Tam. *kaṭi-* "to cut into pieces", *kaṭṭu* "section, part" (unless these Dravidian words are borrowings from Munda). As for Skr. *bṛgala-*, n. "morsel, piece, fragment" (*ardhabṛgalá-, puroḍāśabṛgalá-*, S'at. Br.), its variants *vṛkala-*, n. (S'at. Br. Kāṇv., see Caland, Introduction 55), *vṛkala-*, m. (Baudhāyana) [59]) rather suggest a root *wa-ga*, than *gala-* with prefixed *bṛ-*; cf. perhaps S. *bhuṅgaṛ* "a block, piece of wood, to cut into pieces", *bhuṅgraṇu* "to cut off, hack, chop", etc. The supposed connexion with Goth. *brikan* "to break" (Persson, Beiträge zur idg. Wortforschung 36, n. 1) is in any case fictitious.

By the side of *khaṇḍī-kṛ-* there occurs a variant *kaṇḍī-kṛ-* "to pound", which shows the common Munda variation of aspirates and non-aspirates. Hence *kaṇḍana-* "pounding" (Harṣac.) "the thrashing, husking, husk, chaff", *kaṇḍanī-* "mortar" must have the same origin as *khaṇḍa-*; cf. S. *guṇḍa guṇḍi* "to grind", etc. I venture the supposition that Skr. *káṇa-* "a small grain or single seed; flake, drop, spark, atom, a bit" is also a derivative from this Proto-Munda root. For the semantic development cf. Latin *grānum* : Skr. *jīrṇá-*, and Russ. *pšenó* : Skr. *piṣṭá-*. This explanation is no doubt preferable to the derivation from IE. **sqel-* "to split off" [60]). Skr. *kalā-* "small part" is ambiguous.

2. Proto-Munda *ga-ḍa* "stunted, short, dwarfish, small, blunt, dull" is a parallel root to *ḍa-ḍa* (see *daṇḍá-*) and *wa-ḍa* (see *baṇḍá-*). As will be pointed out in the discussion of these words, these roots show a striking parallelism both in their semantic development and with respect to morphology. Since neither of these parallel roots means "to cut into pieces", this root *ga-ḍa* must be distinct from its homonym discussed above; cf. Skr. *kuṇṭha-* "blunt, dull" (p. 40 f.), which cannot be derived from a root which means "in pieces". Parallel to *daṇḍá-*, the NIA. languages have some variants of a word for "stick, log", e.g. Hi. *gerī, geṛī* "stick used in a game", Nep. *gir* "stick", *gīṛ* "log, block of wood", Kum. *gino* "block, log". Cf. Skr. *gaṇḍa-*, m. "trunk of a tree" (Divyāvad.), Pa. *gaṇḍī-* "stalk, sugarcane-joint", and Pkt. *giḍḍiā-* (to which Turner refers) and see s.v. *laguḍa-*. Vedic *khṛ́gala-* seems to be composed of the well-known prefix *kĕr-, kar-* and *gala-*. If the meaning "stick" is correct, it may represent the same word, cf. *khṛ́galeva visrásaḥ pātam asmā̃n* "like two sticks save us from fall" RS. 2, 39, 4 (thus Roth, Bloom-

[59]) Scheftelowitz, KZ. 53, 261, compares Greek ῥῆξις (from ῥήγνυμι), but the variation *g/k* rather suggests a foreign origin.

[60]) *Kaṇati* "becomes small" (*aṇūbhāve* Nir.) may have been deduced from *káṇa-*.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

field, SBE. 42, 340). Tarapada Chowdhury, JBORS. 17, 1931, 67, assumes the same meaning for AS. 3, 9, 3 on account of the Kauś. S. but this hymn is "one of the most perplexing in the AV." (Bloomfield). Fairly certain is however the appurtenance of Skr. *pogaṇḍa-* "young boy" (*apogaṇḍa-* "boy of 16 years or older" Manu), "deformed in body", (Yaśastil., = "*vikalāṅgaḥ*" according to Amara 2, 46, 46, Halāy. Abhidhānaratnamālā 2, 232), and Nep. *pogaṭā, pohoṭā* "ears of rice with no grain inside" [61]), *phokaṭ* "worthless thing or person". Cf. furthermore the following rare Skr. words with the meaning "dwarfish, stunted": *khaṭa-* (*khaṭākhu-* = *bālamūṣikā*, Haravijaya), *khaḍara-, khaḍūra-* (Yaśastil. comm.), *khaṭṭura-* (Yaśastil.), *khaṭṭara-* (Kṣīrasvāmin ad Amara 2, 6, 46), *khaṭṭana-* "dwarf" (lex.), *khuḍḍuka-, khuḍḍāka-* "small", and *khaṇḍa-* in the sense of "crippled, defective", *kharvá-* "mutilated, crippled, imperfect" (Taitt. S.) [62]), "minute, low, vile" (lex.), *nikharva-*, id. (Hemac., Kṣīrasvāmin l.c.), *kharvita-* "dwarfish", *kharvī-bhū-* "to become small, crippled", *kharvati "hrasvībhavati"*. Instead of the usual derivation from IE. **kolbo-* (Greek *κολοβός*, see Walde-Pokorny I, 436), *kharvá-* must be traced back to a Proto-Munda original **kaḍu-a*.

Cf. S. *guṇḍṛa* "a stump, chip, a maize-cob with the covering leaves removed, child, to strip, chip off, amputate, cut into pieces" (contamination with I *ga-ḍa*), *giṇḍṛa* "a piece, bit, small children, to chop, tear off (cloth), to cut into pieces" and *geḍa, geḍma, geḍra, gẹḍọk', gẹḍmẹc', gẹḍrẹc'* "short, small, puny, stunted, dwarfish", *galae* "minute, tiny, very small (children)", *kẹṭmẹr, kẹṭmbẹr* "short, stunted", *gaḍha guṛhạ* (*gaṛha guṛhạ*) "small, tiny", *gaḍma guḍmạ, gaḍrac' guḍruc'*, id., *kẹṇḍẹl, kẹṇḍlẹ* "short, of small size", K. *gandā, gaṇḍā* "boy", S. M. *koṛa*, Ho *koa* "boy, young man", S. M. *kuṛi* "girl". S. *koṛa* is a parallel formation to **śoṛa* (Hi. *chorā*, Skr. *kiśora-*) from *ḍa-ḍa* and Hi. *poṭā*, id. from *wa-ḍa*. Hence Panj. *kuṛī* "girl". But Skr. *kuṇaka-* "a young animal just born" may perhaps be a Drav. word (Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 135 n. 3). A similar contamination as in Skr. *khaṇḍa-* is also found in S. *gaṇḍra guṇḍṛa* "1. small, stunted, puny, to make do.; 2. to break into pieces" (cf. *gaḍar guḍur* "small", *gaḍac' guḍuc'* "small, undersized, tripping", etc.).

3. Skr. *kāṇḍa-, kāṇḍá-*, m.n. (since Ath. S.) "1. section, part, internode (of a plant), chapter (of a book); 2. stalk, stem, switch, cane, arrow" presents serious difficulties. The incidental use in the sense of "mass, multitude" (Gramm., S'iś., Vikramāṅkad.) is probably due to a confusion with *khaṇḍa-* (s.v. *gaṇa-*), see Renou, Journ. As. 1939, 386. Bye-forms with *g* are *gaṇḍaka-* "having joints", Pali *gaṇḍa-* "a stalk, shaft". 1. *Kāṇḍa-* "internode" is a Dravidian word (in spite of the IE. etymology

---

[61]) Also *pabaṭā, pawaṭā, pauṭā*, perhaps from *pa* + *ba-ḍa*? Such rhyme-words from parallel roots are rather frequent. For the meaning of *phokaṭ* cf. *ḍaūṭhe* (p. 78).

[62]) Cf. *vikalāṅgas tu pogaṇḍaḥ kharvo hrasvaś ca vāmanaḥ*, Amara 2, 6, 46.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

proposed by Fortunatov, see Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, 170, etc.), cf. Tamil *kaṇ* "joint in bamboo or sugar-cane, connection between a bough or flower and its stem, bamboo", *kaṇu* "joint of a bamboo, cane, bamboo, knuckle, joint of the spine", Telugu *gaṇupu* "a joint of the fingers or toes, or in a sugar-cane, etc.". In view of Tam. *kaṭṭu* "class, section" it is not quite certain that the meaning "section, chapter" of the Skr. word is merely due to a semantic development of "piece, fragment". 2. *Kāṇḍa-* "stalk, stem, cane" is prob. a different word (in spite of Tam. *kaṇu* "cane, bamboo"), which is, like Pa. *gaṇḍa-*, id., derived from *ga-ḍa* (§ 2, cf. *khaṇḍa-* "stalk" in *vilvakhaṇḍo* Mhbh. 13, 7414 Calc. "einen Stab von V. holz habend" (?) = *bilvadaṇḍī* Bomb. 13, 159, 14). Tamil *kaḷi-* "to cut off, pare off, prune", *kaḷi* "rod, cudgel, staff, stick", *kaḷai* "spiny bamboo, pole used for propelling boats, sugar-cane, stem of do., shaft of a bamboo", Telugu *gaḍa* "stick, staff, stalk, cane, pole", etc., may just as well be Munda loanwords as Tam. *taṭi, taṇṭu*, id., are (see p. 79).

4. Skr. *khaṇḍaka-* "sugar-candy" (Rājanighaṇṭu), *khaṇḍa-* (Sāh. D.), *khāṇḍava-*, m. (Mhbh. Rām.) "sweet-meats", which Bloch, p. 318, identifies with *khaṇḍa-* "piece" (cf. Mar. *khāḍ* "cassure, morceau, sucre") are prob. also Dravidian words although their meaning may secondarily have been influenced by *khaṇḍa-* "fragments", cf. *khaṇḍa-* "Zucker in Sandform" (Bhāvapr., Kālac.). They cannot be separated from Tam. *kaṭṭu-* "to harden, condense, coagulate, to swell as a boil, a tumour", *kaṭṭu* "a boil, abscess, tumour", *kaṭṭi* "clod, lump, concretion, anything hardened, coagulated, jaggery, coarse palm-sugar; boil, abscess, tumour", *kaṇṭu* "clod, lump, sugar-candy, rock-candy" (which the Tam. Dict. derives from Skr.), *kaṇṭil* "candy", Telugu *gaḍa* "a lump, clod", *gaḍḍa* "lump, mass or clod, anything bulbous, boil or ulcer", Kann. *gaḍḍe*, etc. (cf. Skr. *gaṇḍa-* "boil, pimple, crop", *gaḍu-* "excrescence on the body, as goitre, hump, etc.", *gaṇḍu-* "pillow", *kanda-* "bulbous root, bulb", *kanduka-* "playing ball, pillow", = lex., Pa. *geṇḍuka-*, id., etc.).

24. *khalatī-* "bald-headed".

Since Vāj. S., Taitt. S., S'at. Br. With *-ll-* : *khallaka-* (Galanos), *khalliṭa-* (S'abdaratnāv.), *khallīṭa-* (Trikāṇḍaśeṣa). Another Yajurvedic word is *kŭlva-*, *átikŭlva-* "too bald" (see Vedic Variants II, 267), which however is an IE. word, cf. Avestan *kaurva-*, Latin *calvus*, etc. (e.g. Walde-Pokorny I, 447). With the last word is generally connected *kālvālīkṛta-* "quite bald" (of the earth, Eggeling, transl. of S'at. Br. 2, 2, 4, 3), which however cannot well be separated from class. Skr. *khalvāṭa-* "bald" (Bhartṛhari). Specht, Der Ursprung der idg. Deklination 256, holds the aspirate *kh-* in *khalati-* to be due to the "besondere Gefühlbetonung" and compares *kharvá-*, *khara-*, *khaṇḍa-* and *khora-*, names of corporeal defects.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

In reality, all these words, except for *-kulva-*, are of Proto-Munda origin. Just as a great many derivatives from *ḍa-ḍa* denote "bare, bald", e.g. *ḍuṇḍge*, *caḍra*, *dheṇḍra*, *ceṇḍeṇ'*, *thaṇḍgat'*, *thuṇḍgạ*, etc. (see s.v. *daṇḍá-*), and *muṇḍa-* "bald-headed" is derived from *wa-ḍa* (see s.v. *baṇḍá-*), so *khalati-*, etc. are derived from *ga-ḍa*, cf. S. *kolo* "shaved bare, to shave bare", *holat'* "razor". The *a* of *khalvāṭa-* may stand for *o*, and *v* suggests an original **kolo-a* (cf. *malvá-*, *phalgvà-*). The cerebral appears in Skr. lex. *khaṇḍa-* "a calf with half-grown horns" (Galanos), *matkuṇa-* "a beardless man, elephant without tusks", *matkuṇā-* "pudendum sine pube". Cf. S. *heṇḍer* "bare, exhausted", *heṇḍket'* "bare, denuded", *heṇḍra* "bare, hairless, featherless" (rhyme-word of *dheṇḍra*), *hutur* (K. *utur*) "bare", *khaḍ* "bare, leafless", *khaḍea* "id., hairless, scabby", *khaḍga* "bare, leafless", *khaḍra* "bare, leafless, hairless, skin and bones, stripped", *khal* "to flay, skin, rub off (skin, surface)", *ghal ghalao*, (Campb.: *khal khalao*) "to skin, flay, make bare", *khaḍgu* "bare, leafless, without branches, without feathers or hairs", etc. Perhaps S. *hoyọ*, *hoyọn* "to shave" (M. Ho *hoyo*, K. *kōyō*, Kh. *koy*) belong to this affiliation (*y* < *ḍ*). Other words for defects are *kāṇá-* "one-eyed" (ṚS., Ath. S., Taitt. S.), *kaḍá-*, *kalá-* "dumb", *kaṇva-* "deaf" (lex. also *kalla-* and *barkara-* "deaf", *kalya-* "deaf-mute"); cf. S. *kāṛā* "blind", Ho *galā* "dumb", S. M. *kala* "deaf". Root *ga-ḍa* "stunted, defective" (p. 49 f., cf. Skr. *badhirá-*, p. 102) which is prob. identical with *ga-ḍa* "bare" (: Hi. *gājā* "bald-headed" and see p. 96).

25. *khiṅkira-* "fox".

Only in lex. works. In addition to this word, the synonyms *khikhi-* and *kikhi-* are recorded. The relation *khikhi-* : *khiṅkira-* points to a non-Aryan origin. Since Gondi *khekṛī*, id. is isolated in Dravidian and, accordingly, likely also to be a loan-word (v. Ramaswami Aiyar, Journ. Andhra Histor. Res. Soc. 10, 71), the source of origin of these words must be (Proto)-Munda [63]).

Cf. S. *khikṛī* "the Bengal fox, Vulpes Bengalensis" (in the sense "lean, thin, meagre", it is prob. a different word), K. *kīkrī*, *kikeri*, *kēkri*, *kekṛī*. The exact source of Hi. *khīkīr* is not clear. The root is apparently **khiḍ*, whence the derivatives **khiṅ-khiḍ*, **khi-khiḍ* and, with nasalization of the final *ḍ*, **khiṅ-khiṇ* (in Pkt. *khiṅkhiṇī-* "*śṛgālī*", Deśīn. 2, 74). The syllable *-ra-* in *khinkira-* accordingly forms part of the root (*-kiṛa-* < *kiḍa-*) and *khikhi-*, *kikhi-* must be inferential forms deduced from **khikhira-* (as *karka-* from *karkara-* "mirror", *dundu-* from *dundubhi-* "drum", etc.), unless *khikhi-* stands for **khikhiyi* (*y* < *ṛ*, *ḍ*, cf. p. 134).

26. *khora-* "lame, limping" (Kāty. S'S, Lāṭy., Gaut.).

Also *khoṭa-* (Gaut. 28, 6, v.l.), *khoḍa-* (comm. on Yaśastil. II, 202, 4), *kuṇḍa-* "crippled, lame" (Mahāvy., see Schm. N.). A derivative is *khoraka-*

[63]) What is *keko* in Kui *keko bilo* "fox" (*bilo* "jackal")? Tuttle's connexion of Gondi *khekṛī* with Tulu *kudike* "fox" (Dravidian Developments 22) is hardly correct.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

"a certain disease of the feet" (*paśūnāṁ pādarogaḥ*, Nīlak. on Mhbh. 12, 283, 53). Grammatical and lexicographical works moreover quote the following forms: *khola-* = *khoḍa-* "limping", *khoṭati, khoḍati, khorati, kholati* "limps" (*gatipraghāte, khoṭane*, Dhātup.), *kuṇṭhati* "*gatipraghāte*", *kuṇṭati* or *kuṇḍati* "*vaikalye*", *khuṇḍate* "*khañje*". The last variants are only recorded by Vopadeva (see Pet. D.); since they are wanting in the Pāṇinīya Dhātupāṭha, they must have been introduced at a later date.

Following a suggestion of von Bradke's several scholars connect *khora-* with Greek *σκαῦρος* (thus Walde-Pokorny II, 538; otherwise Uhlenbeck, who compares *khúra-* "hoof, claw", and Feist, who connects it with Lat. *claudus*), on the assumption that *khoḍa-* and *khola-* are irrelevant. But Pa. *kuṇṭha-*, Pkt. *khoḍa-* "lame", *khuṇḍayaṁ* (*khavaḍiāṁ*) "stumbling" (Deśīn.), Mar. *khoḍ*, Guj. *khoḍū*, Beng. *khōḍā* "lame", Tel. *kuṇṭu-* "to limp, to be lame" show that *r* stands for a cerebral [64]). Since Skr. *ḍ* never becomes *r* (v. Lüders, Phil. Ind. 555) [65]), *khora-* must represent a Proto-Munda original **khoṛa*.

The following Santali derivatives from *ka-ḍa* all signify "lame, limping": *kaḍuạ, kaḍuc' kaḍuc', kaḍac' kuḍuc', kiḍọc' koḍọc', kaḍak' koḍok', koḍok' koḍok', kaḍuṅkot' kaḍuṅkot', kuḍạ, kaḍguc', kaṛat' koṛẹt', kuṛcet', koṛdha, koṛha, koṛdhet', koṛdhẹt', khōṛea, khōṛẹt', khōṛdẹt', khoṛda, khoṛha, kheṛdọ, kheṛdọk', haḍac' huḍuc', huṛet', huṛet' huṛet', huṛjaṅ, huṛjet' huṛjet', huṛtaṅ*, etc. Pa. *kuṇṭha-, koṇṭha-* "cripple", which we have here connected with *khora-*, is usually regarded as identical with Skr. Pa. *kuṇṭha-* "blunt" (cf. e.g. Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, 170). As a matter of fact, the meaning "cripple" may ultimately be based on a prim. meaning "defective", see Turner s.v. *kūṇinu* "to be blunted".

A different word apparently is Skr. *kuṇi-* "lame in the arm". The restriction to the hand or arm is unequivocal, cf. Mhbh. 12, 33, 7, where *kuṇi-* (*hastavikalaḥ* Nīl.) is opposed to *paṅgu-* (*pādavikalaḥ*), and Kāśikā on Pāṇ. 2, 3, 20 (*pāṇinā kuṇiḥ*, v.l. *kuṇṭhaḥ*), Pa. *kuṇi-* "deformed, paralysed, only of one or both arms (or hands)", Tam. *kuṇi* "that which is lame, a person with a withered hand or useless arm". The connexion with Greek *κυλλός*, though sanctioned by tradition [66]), and with the obscure Vedic epithet *kúṇāru-* [67]) may be passed by in silence. The

---

[64]) Leumann, Etym. Wb., and Petersson, Studien zu Fortunatovs Regel 4, rightly derive *khora-* from *khoḍa-*.

[65]) For the Pkt. instances quoted by Pischel § 241, see Lüders, Philologia Indica 559 f.; cf. also *karasī, purabheyaṇī*, etc. (Pischel § 238 and § 245) and Pa. *ekārasa-, erisa-* (Geiger § 43).

[66]) Thus Fortunatov, accepted by Uhlenbeck, Petersson, Stud. zu Fortunatovs Regel 4, 8, Boisacq, Dict. étym. de la langue grecque, *s.v.*

[67]) Roth connected it with *kuṇi-*; see Neisser, Zum Wörterb. d. RV. II, 60.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

original meaning of *kuṇi-* (or *koṇi-*, Lex.) was "distorted, crooked", cf. Pa. *kuṇḍa-*(*daṇḍaka-*) "bent, crooked", *kuṇṭha-* "bent, lame, blunt, a cripple" [68]), *kuṇa-*, *kuṇita-* "distorted, bent, crooked, lame". The combination of these meanings, which is but rarely met with in the derivatives from Proto-Munda *ga-ḍa* (*ka-ḍa*), e.g. *koṇḍec'*, *koṇḍet'* "bent, crooked, twisted (a little)", is very common in Dravidian, cf. Telugu *kuniṣṭi*, *kunuṣṭu* "crooked, crippled, lame, cross", *kuniṣṭi*, *kanuṣṭu* "crookedness, obstacle, impediment", *gūni*, *kūnī* "crooked", *gūnidi* "a cripple", *gũnu* "a hump, a crooked-back, a vessel, pot", *kutanuḍu* "a deformed cripple, a name of Kuvera", *kuṇṭi* "lame, crooked", *kuṇṭu* "lameness, crookedness", Tamil *kōṇu-* "to be awry, crooked, oblique", *kōṇal* "wryness, obliquity, deflection, hump, deformity".

Just as the Munda origin of *khora-* is clearly indicated by the phonetical development *k* > *h*, so the native Dravidian character of these words is probable on account of the ablaut *u* : ō, cf. Tel. *gundi* "corner" : Tam. *kōṭu-*, *kōṇ-*, *kuṇaku-* "to be bent or crooked", *kōṭu*, *kōṇ*, *kuṇakku* "crookedness", *kōṭṭam*, *kōṇam* "curve". We must perhaps exclude Tel. *kuṇṭu-* "to limp, be lame" and *kuṇṭagincu-* "to limp, halt", which may be borrowings from Munda.

If this conclusion is correct, *kuṭa* "*kauṭilye*" and *kuṭi* "*vaikalye*" (Pischel § 232) are not identical, and in Pa. *kuṇṭha-* "bent, lame, blunt" the derivatives of a Dravidian and a Proto-Munda root must have been fused.

27. *g a ṇ á -*, m. "troop, crowd, flock, number, series, etc."

Since ṚS. Generally derived from IE. **ger-* "to assemble, collect", (Greek *ἀγείρω*, etc.), e.g. Lidén, Studien zur altind. u. vgl. Sprachgesch. 15, Uhlenbeck s.v., Persson, Beiträge zur idg. Wortforschung 100, etc.; only Walde-Pokorny I, 590, express some doubt.

From Proto-Munda *ga-ḍa* "in clusters, numerous", cf. *ghaṭā-* "multitude, troop" (Varāh. Bṛh. S., Kathās., etc.), *ghaṭayati* "brings together, unites", (Suśr., S'āk., Bhaṭṭ.), *saṁghaṭayati* "assembles, collects" (Kathās., Rājat.), *saṁghaṭa-* "heaped up", *saṁghaṭṭa-*, *saṁghaṭana-*, *ghaṭana-*, n. "joining, union with", *saṁghāṭa-*, m. "carpentry" (cf. Mar. *sā̃gaḍ* "double-canoe", etc., see J. Bloch, Langue marathe 417, and Turner s.v. *saṅār*), *saṁghaṭṭayati* "collects" (Mhbh., Rājat.), Pkt. *ghaḍī-*, *ghaḍiaghaḍā-* "an assembly" (*goṣṭhī*, Deśīn. 2, 105), Pa. *ghaṭā-*, m.f. "multitude, heap, crowd, dense mass". These words are usually derived from *granth-* "to tie or string together" (e.g. Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, 167, Rhys Davids-Stede,

---

[68]) Skr. Pa. *ahikuṇḍika-* "snake-charmer", the lit. meaning of which is alleged to be "bender", cannot well be separated from *ahiguṇṭhika-*, *ahiguṇḍika-*, the lit. signification of which is hardly "one who is covered with, or wrapped up in, snakes". For the explanation of these words Tel. *kuḍimivāḍu* and Tamil *kuḍumi* may be of interest, but cf. also Skr. *ahituṇḍika-*, id. (Vāsavad.).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Pali Dict.), but the technical meaning of *granth-* is totally absent in *ghaṭ-* and its derivatives. On the other hand, we also find such variants as Skr. *khaṇḍa-*, m.n. "number, multitude, group" (Mhbh. etc.), *kāṇḍa-*, id. (S'iśup. 1, 38, Vikramāṅk. 6, 8), *kaṭa-*, *kaṭyā-* (*kaḍyā-*) "multitude" [69]) (Yaśastil.), *kaṭinī-*, f. "army" (Yaśastil.), *kaṭaka-*, m.n. "an army, caravan, royal camp", and perhaps *gulaka-*, m. *kulaka-*, n. "multitude", (the first word in the S'rīkaṇṭhacaritam, see Schmidt, Nachtr., the second in *udbhidyamānaromapulakakulaka-*, Bhāg. Pur.).

Cf. S. *gaḍ guḍ* "very many, numerous, in mixed company", *gaḍa guḍ* "numerous, in a cluster", *gale gọlẹ* "in company, together", *gad gad* "in crowds, numbers, flocks, to flock together", *gan ganao* "to crowd, be numerous" (Campbell), *gẹṇẹc' gẹṇẹc'*, *gẹṇẹc' gẹsẹc'* "numerous", *gadel* "a multitude, crowd, flock, crowded, numerous", *gas gas* "very many, a swarm", *gasa gạsi* "crowded, thronged, packed, close, rubbing against one another" (contamination with *gasao* "to rub"), *gẹsẹc' gẹsẹc'* "in crowds, swarming, in a large number", *kal kal* "numerous, exceedingly", *haḍ huḍ* "a large number", *had had* "crowdedly", etc., Ho *guṭi* "troop, band, crowd", K. *kārū*, *kāṛū* "herd, flock" (= S. *khaṛ*, id.).

Skr. *kúla-*, n. "a herd, flock, swarm, multitude, race, family" (since S'at. Br.) is ambiguous (cf. also Khmer *trekūl* "race, family", Mon *jakū* < **jakūl* "race, species"?), but Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 139, is perhaps right in deriving it from Tam. *kuḻu* "society, bond, assembly, flock, herd, swarm, shoal", *kuḻuvu-* "to assemble in large numbers, to crowd", Kui *kūlu* "family, clan, tribe, caste", etc.; cf. also *gávāṁ kulmi-* "herd of cows" (Taitt. S.), which he compares with Tam. *kuḻumu-* "to collect, assemble", and *gulma-*, m. "a troop or guard of soldiers" (: Kann. *gummu, gummi* "mass, crowd"). Since both Drav. *guḍ-/kuḍ-* and Proto-Munda *ga-ḍa* seem to be native roots, the situation is rather complicated. An *m*-suffix is also found in Munda, e.g., S. *poṭma* = *poṭea* "potbellied". Even if the identity of *gulma-* and Kann. *gummu* be admitted, there remains the problem of *gulaka-*, cf. S. *gale gọlẹ* and Ho *guṭi*.

28. Skr. *ghaṭa-*, m. "jar, ewer".

Since Mhbh., Rām., Manu, Suśr. Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 138 n. 1, derives this word from Dravidian **goḍa* (Kann. *koḍa*). Since in the present preliminary state of the study of the Aboriginal words in Sanskrit it is necessary to survey all possible solutions it may be useful to oppose the following explanation to the one already forwarded. Beside *ghaṭa-*, there occur the following variants: *gargara-*, m. (Mhbh. [70]), *gargarā-*, f. (Lalitav.), *gargarī-*, "churn, butter-vat, a kind of water-jar", *karkarī-*, f.

---

[69]) On these (and the preceding) words, see also Renou, J.as. 1939, 386. A word *kaṭapra-* is inferred from *kaṭapraśabdaḥ* Deśīn. 2, 13 (Böhtlingk II, 297) but this is rather to be taken as *kaṭa-praśabda-*.

[70]) As for Mar. *ghāgar* see Bloch § 84 (p. 98 f.), who tentatively explains *gh* by analogy.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

"waterjar" (Bhartṛhari), *karkaṭī-*, id. (Schol. ad Amarakośa) and *karaka-*, m. "water-pot" (Mhbh., Rām.). These words point to a root *gaḍ*, a prefixed form of which is found in *bhṛṅgāra-*, m.n. "water-pot, pitcher". (< **bĕr-ṅar*, nasalized form of *gar, gaḍ*). Cf. also Si. *ghāghari*, f. "waterpot" (Turner s.v. *gāgro*) and Skr. lex. *gaḍḍuka-*, m. = Nep. *gaṛuwā* "small earthen pot", etc. (see Turner s.v.), Pkt. *khaṇḍa-*, n. "a liquor pot" (*madyabhāṇḍam*). As for *kalāśa-*, m. "pot, water-jar" (ṚS.), its formation is not quite clear (but cf. Skr. *bāliśa-*, etc.).

These words suggest a Proto-Munda origin. Cf. (besides S. *gagra, ghagra, ghaṛa*, which are obviously reborrowings from Aryan) S. *haṇḍha* "a large earthenware jar" (>Hi. *hāḍā*) and *haṭhuṛa*, Kh. *hāṛiā* "cooking pot".

29. *ghaṭṭayati* (*ghaṭṭate*)

"to stroke, touch, stir, shake, set in motion" (Mhbh., Suśr. and later literature, cf. *mṛdvagninā ghaṭṭayan vipacet* "stirring" Suśr.). It is usually regarded as a Prakit word derived from *ghaṭṭa-* = Skr. *ghṛṣṭa-* (Pet. D., Uhlenbeck). But the Prakrit form of *gharṣati* is *ghasai* "rubs", and its meaning departs rather widely from that of *ghaṭṭayati*.

Cf. S. *ghaṇṭa* "to stir round or about (in a vessel)", *ghaṇṭur* "to stir about in a pot", M. *gaṇṭi* "to stir with a spoon while cooking", S. *gheola* "to move, stir, make muddy", *heoḍa, heola* "to mix, stir up (with the finger)", M. Ho *hoṇḍā* "to stir while cooking", etc. Root *ga-ḍa* "to stir, muddy, turbid".

Perhaps Skr. lex. *ghaṇṭa-*, m. "a sort of sauce, vegetables made into a pulp with water, turmeric, mustard seeds and capsicums" (Wilson) and *matsyaghaṇṭa-*, m. "a fish-dish" belong to this word-group.

30. *cāṭa-*, m. "cheat, deceiver, fortune-teller".

Since Yājñav., Pañcat., etc.; Pkt. *cāḍa-* "deceitful" (*māyāvī* Deśīn. 3, 8). Cf. M. *ceṭ, ceṭe, ceṇṭ* "cunning, clever". S. *caṭur* "vigilant, alert, smart, scheming (with an implication of deceitfulness), to be scheming, deceitful" is however a loanword from Hi. *cātur* (Skr. *cātura-*) "clever, able, shrewd, skilful, dexterous", which seems to be a different word, cf. Ho *cutur* "cunning, shrewd, sly", Nep. *chaṭṭu* "cunning, expert".

Cf. furthermore Skr. *śaṭha-* "false, wicked" and *chala-*, n. "fraud, deceit, pretence, delusion"?

31. *cipiṭa-* "blunted, flattened, flat".

1. Esp. said of the nose, cf. *cipiṭanāsa-* Varāh. Bṛh. S. 67, 7, *-cipiṭanāsikā* Kathās. 20, 108. Already known to Pāṇini (5, 2, 33), first occurrence in lit. Sanskrit in Var. BS. and Jātakamālā (e.g. 44, 16 *sphuṭitacipiṭavirūpaghoṇa-*). In the Harṣacar. it means "short, of a bag" (*hrasvaḥ*) and "thick, of the lip" (*sthūla īṣallambaś ca*), see Thomas, JRAS. 1899, 511. When used as a noun, *cipiṭa-*, m. denotes the "flattened

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

rice" (Yaśastil.), cf. lex. *civiṭa-*, m., *cipiṭaka-*, m., *cipuṭa-*, m., *cipaṭa-*, m. id. (the last word also = "flat-nosed"). *Cipiṭī-kṛ-* occurs Kādamb. 227, 5 Pet., Bālarām. Cf. Pa. *cipiṭa-* "flattened", Pkt. *civiḍa-*, *civiḍha-*, *cimiḍha-* (see p. 23!), id.

Carpaṭa- "flat, flattened", since Varāh. Brh. S. (cf. 68, 58 and Utpala ad 27 [25], 12); lex. *carpaṭa-*, m., *carpaṭī-*, f. "a partic. kind of cake", cf. Hi. *cāpṛā*, *capṛī* "a cake of cow-dung", *capātī*, *cāpātī* "a thin cake of unleavened bread" (like Dutch *vlade* "a kind of cake": Engl. *flat*, and the parallels quoted by Lidén, Studien zur altind. und vergleich. Sprachgesch. 88, n. 1).

Since it is clear that *cipiṭa-* and *carpaṭa-* are connected, they must be Proto-Munda words on account of the infixed *r* in *carpaṭa-* and the ablaut *a*: *i*: *u* in *cipiṭa-*, *cipaṭa-*, *cipuṭa-*. To the same conclusion points the fact that the NIA. languages have, beside the regular developments from the Sanskrit words (e.g. Hi. *cyūṛā*, Mar. *civḍā*, Nep. *ciurā* from Pkt. *civiḍa-*), also words which presuppose a different original (e.g. Panj. *cāpaṛ* "flake of sun-dried mud", Nep. *capari* "turf, clod of earth", etc., if really derived from M. Ind. **cāppaṭa-*), or which must have been borrowed at a comparatively recent date from a Munda dialect in which the word still preserved the same form which it had many centuries B.C. when it was borrowed as Skr. *cipiṭa-* (for a similar case, cf. Skr. *kubhra-*), e.g. Nep. *ccpṭo*, *cepṭe* "flat", Kshm. *cĕpoṭᵘ* "flat-nosed", Or. *cepā*, *cepṭā* "flat", and Hi. Panj. *capṭā*, Mar. *cāpaṭ*, *capḍā*, Nep. *capleṭi* (etc.), id. See Bloch 329 and Turner s. vv.

Cf. S. *cạpi*, *cạpiạ*, *cạpio* "flat-nosed, flat, not rounded wood, to flatten wood", *cạpic'* "flat-nosed", *caple* "shallow, with a flat bottom (river, mortar, vessels)", *cẹpẹ*, *chẹpẹ* "flat, flat-nosed", *chẹplẹ*, *chẹplọ*, *chẹplọñ* "low, flat, undersized" (contamination with *ḍa-wa* "stunted"), *chapọrae* "low, flat, not steep, deficient in height" (Beng. *chāppar*), *chepra*, *cheporae*, *chẹpro*, *chẹpkọ* [71]), id., *cạrpiṛ* "flat, to make do.", *cọpọṭ'* "low, not high, hollow", *cẹpẹl*, *cẹplẹ*, *cẹpṛẹ*, *cẹpṭẹ*, *cẹpṭhẹ*, "flat, flattened, low", *cẹpọ* "flat-nosed, small", etc., M. *cepo*, *ceped'* "flat". K. *capara* "flat, flat piece, a plain" is an Aryan loanword.

The original meaning of these words must have been "depressed" as they are derived from a root *ca-pa* (*ca-ba*, *ja-pa*) "to press, to squeeze", cf. S. *cipạ* "to press, afflict, squeeze, make narrow", *sipi* "to knead (what is moist), to squeeze", *sipoṭ'* "to squeeze in the hand or between both hands", *jhapaṭ*, *jhapọṭ* "to pounce upon and press down" (contamination with the word-family from which Skr. *jhampa-* is derived), M. *sipi* "to rub the head" (cf. Hi. *cā̃pnā*), M. Ho *cipā* "to squeeze out with the hand as, e.g. rice beer", K. *cepen* "to jam", and the Munda word for "fist": S. *cuput'*, M. *cipud'*, Ho *cipud*, Kh. *cepūḍ*. Aryan borrowings are, e.g. Skr. *cappayati* "pounds", *campita-*, n. "*niṣpīḍitam*", *campana-*, n. "*saṁmardaḥ*"

---

[71]) Cf. Hi. *cippak* "compressed, flat, shallow", *capaknā* "to be compressed, etc.".

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

(comm. on Yaśastil.), *cāpita-* "*ākrāntaḥ*" (Yaśastil., comm.), *cip-* "to press" (see Bloch 330), cf. *naḍacippitikaṁ cipyamāna-*, comm. on Bodhicaryā, p. 177 (quoted by Kern, Toevoegselen I, 111), Pa. *cippiyamāna-* "crushed flat" (Milindap.), Pkt. *campaï, cappaï* "presses" (*camp-* "to trample down", cf. *campiūṇa*, v.l. in Jacobi's 'Ausgewählte Erzählungen', p. 81, 7), Hi. *capnā* "to be compressed, be flattened, crushed or squeezed", *cāpnā* "to press, squeeze, knead, shampoo" (whence *shampoo*, see Hobson–Jobson), *capaknā* "to be pressed flat down or on", Beng. *cāp, cīp, cipā, cipṭā* "to press" (Chatterji 404, 887), Mar. *cāpṇē, cipṇē, cepṇē, civaḍṇē* "to press" (Bloch 329—331), *cibā* "flattened", Guj. *cībū, cībḍū* "flat-faced", Nep. *cepnu* "to press, squeeze, depress, urge", *cep, cepāi* "pressure", *chipchipe* "shallow", etc. [72]).

The root *ca-pa* is a dialectal variant of *ḍa-wa*, cf. S. *dabao* "to overcome, press down, suppress, snub, awe" (perh. reborrowing from Hi. *dabānā*, but cf.:) *dabṛao* "to intimidate, check", *ṭelpẹn'* = *cẹlpẹn'* "shallow, low", *ṭẹmẹc'* "shallow", *robot'* "to press and squeeze with the hand", *limbot'* "to strangle, throttle, squeeze the cheeks", M. *limbud'* "to throttle, press down", *lebed'* "to press down, fill tightly", *remed', rembed'* "to squeeze, press", *rombod'* "to seize with the palm and press on the ground" [73]), Ho *limbud* "to catch by the throat, to strangle", *tembe* "shallow", K. *dībī* "shallow cooking pot" (: S. *chaba* "small earthen pot", M. *ṭupā*, Ho *ṭopā* "a small basket"?). Hence Nep. *ḍhepnu* "to press against", *ḍibiyā* "a small, flat box" [74]), *thepco* "lowered, depressed, flattened, flat", Hi. *dabānā* "to press down", *ṭhappā* "a stamp, impression, printing", *ṭīp, ṭīp-ṭāp* "the act of pressing or compressing", *ṭīpnā* "to press, compress, squeeze", Beng. *dhāmsā* "to squeeze, beat, press", *thebrā* "flat-nosed", *ṭip* "to press with the fingers, a point", *ṭipā* "to squeeze, press together" (cf. M. *ṭhepā* "thumb impression"; but S. *ṭip* "finger-print", Ho *ṭip* "a thumb impression" are prob. reborrowings) ~ Hi. Beng. Nep. *chāp* "stamp, print, impression, seal", Hi. *chāpnā* "to stamp, seal, print", *chīṭṇā* "to print a cloth", Lhd. *dhabbā* "a cotton-printer" (see Turner s.v. *dhabbā*), etc. As Turner, BSOS. 5, 123, points out, Pashto *drabəl* "to press down" cannot be a direct borrowing from Indian, because Si. *daḇaṇu*, Lhd. *dabbaṇ*, Kshm. *dabun*, Rom. *daḇ* point to **dabb-*, not **darb-* or **drabb-*. *Drabəl* (if < *da-r-ba-*) is an interesting parallel to **ca-r-pa* (S. *cạrpiṛ*, Skr. *carpaṭa-*).

A derivative from this root is used in modern Munda as a term for the flattened rice, cf. S. *taben* (*tabẹn*), id., M. *tāben* "parboiled paddy beaten

---

[72]) Panj. *cappaṇ* "cover" (see Turner s.v. *cepnu*) belongs to the affiliation of Nep. *jhā̃pnu* "to cover" (*q.v.*). Hi. *cepnā* "to stick on, paste on" (Burrow, Transact. Philol. Soc. 1945, 100) should also be kept apart, cf. Beng. *lapṭā, lipṭā* "to stick on" and S. *cẹpṭhẹ, ịẹmṭhẹ, jimṭạu, sapṭa, rẹbẹṭ', ṭhema, ṭhubre*, etc. "to stick".

[73]) If M. *cārpā* (*cārpad'*), *lārpā, tārwā* "sole of the feet" are derived from *ḍa-wa* "flat", they must be separated from S. *talka*, id.

[74]) Nep. *diuri* "a small iron pan" < **diwuḍ-*? Cf. Hi. *ṭhīp*.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

quite flat, *ciuṭā*", Ho *tāben* "pounded rice, flat rice, *churā*"; cf. Skr. *cipiṭa-*, m., id. In Aryan we find Hi. *cāwal, cāwal, cāwar* "rice cleared of the husk and not cooked", Beng. *cāul*, Nep. *cāmal* (< Old Nep. *cā̃wal*), id. and, on the other hand, Beng. *tāul*, Kshm. *tŏmul* "uncooked rice". Dardic (Torwali) *tūnōl*, (Bashkarik) *talun*, Shina *tarūn*, is a different word as it stands for **tanul* < Skr. *taṇḍula-* (Morgenstierne, Acta Or. 18, 253). While Platts derives Hi. *cāwal* from the same original (similarly Chatterji 517: Beng. *cāul, tāul* < earlier *tā̆ṛula*), Turner merely suggests a blending of **cāmala-* and *taṇḍula-*. The comparison with Munda shows that **tāmal/*cāmal* is derived from *ḍa-wa* "to press, squeeze".

Corresponding Dravidian words are, e.g., Tam. *cappu-* "to be bent, pressed in, to become flat", *cappaṭṭai, cappaṭi, cappal* "flatness, anything flat", *cappaḷi-* "to flatten, to be crushed or jammed", *cappaḷam, cappaṇam, cammaṇam* "the act of sitting flat and cross-legged" (*cappaḷitt-iru-* "to sit do.") [75]), *tippi* "shallow earthen vessel with a wide mouth", Tel. *cāpa* "a mat, anything flat to extend" [76]), (*cāpu* "length, extent", *cāpu-* "to extend"?), *cappaṭa* "a fruit (etc.) pressed flat", *cappaḍi* "plain", *cappiḍi* "flat, not projecting", Kann. *capaṭe, cappaṭe, appaṭe* "flatness", *cappe* "that which is flattened or pressed down", etc. and, with initial nasalization, Tam. *ñemiṭu-* "to press, squeeze", Mal. *ñeviṇṭu-* "to squeeze", Kuvi *nabgali* "to press down". Cf. Nep. *nepṭo* "flat, obtuse-angled, flat-nosed", *nepṭe* "flat-nosed" ~ *cepṭo, cepṭe*, id. Since the Drav. words must be Munda loanwords [77]), the *-m-* of Tam. *ñemiṭu-*, Kann. *amuku-* may also be explained as a Munda phenomenon (otherwise Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 353, 605). Cf. Pkt. *cimiḍha-* (above, p. 23).

2. An entirely different word is Skr. *capeṭa-*, m. (Divyāv.), *capeṭā-*, f. (Pat.), *capeṭī-*, f. (Bālar.) "a slap with the open hand"; cf. *capaṭa-*, v.l. in Amara 2, 6, 2, 35 Schol., and *carvan-* in the Hārāvalī; Pkt. *caveḍā-, caviḍā-, caviḷā-, cavelā-* (Pischel § 238), Hi. Nep. *cameṭā*, Lhd. Si. *camāṭa* "slap, blow with the palm of the hand". The addition "with the open hand" in the definitions of the meaning of these words points to an early contamination with the words for "flat", perhaps favoured by such words as Pkt. *caveḍī-* "cavity (formed by joining the hands)" (*karasaṁputaṃ, saṁputaṃ ity anye*, Deśīn. 3, 3), although the derivation of this word is not quite clear. Cf. Tel. *capēṭamu* "the palm of the hand with the fingers extended", Hi. *capeṭ(ā)* "id., a slap, thump, cuff" (Platts) [78]).

---

[75]) Cf. Beng. *cāpṭi* "squatting position".

[76]) Hence Skr. *kaśipú-*, m.n. "mat, pillow" (since Ath. S.) (with Proto-Munda prefix *ka-*) from **cipu*?

[77]) Burrow, Transactions Philol. Soc. 1945, 99 f., explains the Sanskrit words as Dravidian loans.

[78]) The formation of Skr. lex. *alambuṣa-*, m. "hand with the fingers extended" is obscure. Perhaps from Proto-Munda **a-lambuṭ* (Cf. Nep. *labaṭo*)?

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

The primary sense of the root *ḍa-wa*, from which these words are derived, is however "a slap, to slap", cf. S. *ṭhapa ṭhopo* "to slap, rap each other", *thapo* "to pat", *thap thop* "to slap, beat with the hands", *thapṛe* "to slap, beat slightly, to cuff", *thapa* "to slap, strike, smite with the flat of the hand (on the head), to hit with the horns", M. *thābri*, Ho *caprā* "to slap", K. *tapara* "to pat with the hand" (reborrowing?), prob. also K. *barāb* "to pat" (< **ba-ṛap'*). Only a few examples of the many loanwords in Aryan will be mentioned. Cf., e.g., Hi. *dhappā* "a slap, box, thump, blow (with the flat of the hand)", Nep. *dhāp* "pat, slap", Skr. *ḍampayate, ḍimbayate "saṁghāte"*, Nep. *ḍimbā, ḍimmā* "hard blow with the palm of the hand, slap", Beng. *thābṛā, thāpṛā, thābaṛ, thāp(p)aṛ* "slap" [79]), *thābā* "to slap", Hi. *thop* "slap", *thāp* "pat", *thappaṛ* "slap, cuff" (see Turner s.v. *thappaṛ*), Hi. *lapaṭ, lappaṛ*, Nep. *labaṭo, lapaṭo* "a slap", Skr. *jhampā-* "a blow" (comm: *abhighātaḥ*; Haravijaya), Nep. *jhā̃paṭ* "slap", Beng. *cāpaṛ* "slap" (hardly from **carpaṭa-*, Chatterji 510; cf. p. 346 on *caṛ*, id. < **capaṭa-*), Hi. *cepnā* "to pat with the hand". Although several of these words suggest some connexion with the flat of the hand, I presume that this is merely due to a contamination, which is extremely frequent in Munda owing to the large number of homonymous roots. A parallel instance is prob. S. *sepen'* "to carry on the flat of the hand (to fall in, lie flat on)", M. Ho *sipiṅ* "to raise up on the palms" ~ S. *teven'* "to lift up, carry suspended from the hand", K. *tiwiṅ* "to carry", which are hardly derived from *ḍa-wa* "flat".

Corresponding words in Dravidian are, e.g., Tam. *cappāṇi* "clapping hands", Tel. *cappaṭa* "a slap or clap [a fruit (etc.) pressed flat, as a fig]", *cappaṭlu* "the clapping of the hands, derision" (cf. Skr. *āsphoṭitam* Rām. 5, 4, 12, Tilaka: *vilāsārtham karāsphālanam*, etc.), Kaṇn. *cappaḷisu, tappaḷisu* "to slap, pat", *appaḷisu* "to strike against, to flap, slap", etc. and Tam. *tappai*, Tel. *debba*, Kann. *ḍebbe, ḍabbe* "blow, stroke". See further Burrow, Transactions Philol. Soc. 1945, 99, who explains Skr. *capeṭa-* as a Dravidian loanword. It may be noted that S. *thapṛe*, Hi. *thappaṛ*, Beng. *thābṛā*, Hi. *lapaṭ, lappaṛ*, Nep. *labaṭo, jhā̃paṭ* point to a Proto-Munda word **ḍaw-aḍ*, which could be regarded as an indication that the phonetic changes *ḍ* > *l*, *jh*, *c* are posterior to the creation of this suffixed noun. See however the introductory remarks [80]).

32. *jambāla-* "mud, clay".

This word occurs in the Classical literature (Pañcat., Kādamb., Bālar., Rājat.), cf. *jambālita-* (Schmidt, Nachträge), Pa. *jambāla-, jambālī-* "a

---

[79]) See Chatterji 446, who assumes voicing of *p*.

[80]) Burrow (p. 99, n. 1) is probably right in explaining Skr. *āsphālayati* "strikes with the flat hand" (since Caraka, Hariv., Raghuv.) as a Sanskritization of Pkt. *apphālei* (cf. *apphaḍia-* "struck"). *Āsphālayati* "tears" (*vāsāṁsi* Bhāg. P.) is a different word, cf. *sphāṭita-* "torn" (Var. BS., Hitop.), *saṁsphālayati* (Taitt. Ār.).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

dirty pool (at entrance to village)", Pkt. *jambāla-*, n. "duckweed" (*jalanīlī*; *śevālam ity arthaḥ*, Deśīn. 3, 42). A shorter form *jamba-*, *jāmba-* is only recorded by Ujjvaladatta.

Several explanations have been proposed, cf. Lidén, Studien zur altind. und vergl. Sprachgeschichte 85, n. 4 (Old Engl. *cwabbe*, etc. "pool"), Uhlenbeck s.v. (**jam-* "earth" + *bāla-*, cf. Old Engl. *pól*, Lit. *balà*, OChSl. *blato*; accepted by Kurylowicz, Mélanges Vendryes 208), Petersson, Studien über die indogerm. Heteroklisie 38 (Arm. *cov* "sea, lake, basin, reservoir of water"). All these theories must be rejected as they disregard the NIA. forms Hi. *jhābar* "marshy land, marsh, fen, swamp", Beng. *jabjabe* "an onomatopoetic to denote the idea of stickiness and moisture" (cf. Beng. *jābṛā*, *jobṛā* "smudge, blotch", Chatterji 405, 887, 892), etc., which point to a radical element *jab/jamb*.

Cf. S. *jawa* "to soak, saturate", M. *jovi* "marshy land", S. *jab jab*, *jab jabao*, *jọb jọb*, *jọb jọbao*, *jọbọ*, *jọbḥọ*, *jọbọc' jọbọc'* "wet, moist, damp, drenched", *jọbẹ* "to dirty, wet, roll in mud or water, be besmeared, bathe", *jẹbẹ jẹbẹ*, *jẹbẹc' jẹbẹc'* "muddy, miry, moist", *jẹbẹ jọbẹ* "drenched, soaked", *jubhi* "marshy, swampy, boggy, watery(rice-field)", *jhabar jhubur* "drenched, soaked, wet through and through", *jhak' jhạbur* "drenched, soaked", *jabḍ(a)ha* "hollow, moist", *jobḍ(h)ao* "to put down (or sink) in mire, water", Kh. M. *jobhi* "swampy ground", M. *jubhi* "mud" (Ho *jobe*, id.), *jubilā* "a wet field", S. *sabja*, *sabjao* "to become wet", *subur subur* "watery, thin", etc. Nasalized forms are, e.g., S. *sẹm*, *sẹm sẹmao* "moist, damp, wet"; cf. Nep. *sim* "marsh, bog, morass", etc. (: Beng. *sapsapā* "to be wet and uncomfortable", Chatterji 891).

The root is *ḍa-wa* (*ja-wa*), cf. Ho *ḍobe*, *jobe* "mud", K. *dubi* "marsh" (: S. *jubhi* "marshy"), Kh. *tobḍā* "mud" (: So. *jóbbā-*, id.), S. *ḍub ḍub* "to dip, immerse", *ṭub ṭub* "plunging, getting under the surface, to dip, plunge", *topo* "to dip, immerse, bathe" (M. *tupu* "to moisten", Ho *tupu* "to dip in water", K. *tūpū* "to wet, get wet"), M. *ḍobe* "to dip in water", *ḍumbui* (Bhaduri), *ḍubuī* (Mark 5, 13) "to immerse in water, to sink", *ḍabḍabāo* "to be filled with tears", *lum* "wet", *luād* (= **luw-at'*) "wet, most", S. *lọhọt'* (< **lọw-ọt'*, see p. 75), id., etc.

Hence Hi. *ḍūbnā* "to dive, sink, drown, to be immersed; to be inundated, flooded; to sink, set (as the sun)", etc. [81]). See Turner s.v. *dubnu*, who assumes a root **ḍubba-*, metathesis of **buḍḍa-*. But cf. Hi. *ḍabrā*, *ḍabṛā*, *dabrā* "marshy land, pool, puddle", *ḍābar* "low ground, where water collects, marsh, swamp, pool, puddle, small pond, etc.", *ḍhabar*, *ḍhabrā* "muddy, turbid" : *jhābar*, id. (cf. *juwār*, *jawār* "flood"?); Beng. *ḍobā* "puddle, small tank" (unlikely Chatterji 405, but cf. 495), *ḍub* "dipping", *ḍubā* "to sink" : *jābḍān* "to sit in water or mud". The suffix *-ḍ-* is also found in Kh. *tobḍā*, S. *jabḍaha* (and *sabja* <**ḍabḍa*?), etc. It is obvious

---

81) Already suggested by Manindra Bhusan Bhaduri, A Mundari-English Dictionary, Preface IX.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

that *ḍub-* is an Austro-Asiatic root, which cannot have arisen through metathesis from *buḍ-*. In Aryan it is used since the MI. period for *majj-* (e.g. *ḍubbantaṁ* "*majjantam*" Mṛcch. 264, 15 ed. Parab), cf. also *ḍiṁphiaṁ* "*jalapatitam*" (Deśīn. 4, 9) [82]).

As for Skr. *kardama-*, m. "slime, mud" (since Kāty. S'S.), its explanation depends on whether we take *karda-*, *kardaṭa-* (lex.) as really existing words or as inferential forms (which would enable us to connect *dam-* with *ḍub-*). This point must be left undecided.

33. *jā́la-*, n. "net, web, lattice".

Since Ath. S. It often denotes something which is dense ("zusammenhängende, dichte Menge" Pet. Dict.), e.g. *dhvānta-jāla-*, Daśak. 50, 5—6 Agashe; eventually it has come to mean "multitude" (see Renou, J. As. 1939, 386, n. 1). Since Lidén, Stud. zur altind. und vergl. Sprachgesch. 3 ff., it is generally connected with *jaṭā-*, f. "matted hair" (see Uhlenbeck, Walde–Pokorny I, 593), although Wackernagel in his review of Lidén's book had rightly objected that the *j* of *jaṭā-* is against this derivation (Idg. Forsch. Anzeiger 12, 20) [83]). Nevertheless *jāla-* and *jaṭā-* are probably connected, cf. Pa. *jaṭā-* "tangle, braid, plaiting, matted hair, tangled branches of trees, the tangle of desire, lust" with Pa. *jāla-* in *taṇhājāla-* "the snare of worldly thirst", *kāmajāla-*, etc. Since Pkt. *jāla-* shows the same semantic development to "multitude" as the Skr. word (e.g. Jacobi, Ausgewählte Erzählungen, index), it is tempting to explain Skr. *chaṭā-*, Pkt. *chaḍā-* "multitude" as variants of *jaṭā-*. This would involve a non-Aryan origin. As a matter of fact, a great many NIA. words point to a Proto-Munda root *ḍa-ḍa* "matted, entangled", e.g.:

Nep. *ḍhariyā* "a bamboo fishing net", Ass. *dhāri* "bamboo mat", Beng. *dhāṛā* "coarse mat, fence of stakes", Pkt. *saṁdaṭṭaya-*, *saṁdaṭṭa-* "*saṁlagnam*" (Deśīn. 8, 18);

Pa. *taṭṭikā-* (*teṭṭika-*) "a straw mat", Pkt. *taṭṭī-* "a hedge, fence" (*vṛtiḥ* Deśīn. 5, 1), *ṭaṭṭiā-* "a screen, curtain" (*tiraskariṇī* 4, 1), Nep. *ṭāṭ*, *tāṭ* "sackcloth", Ass. *ṭāṭi* "bamboo fence", Beng. Or. *ṭāṭi* "bamboo mat", Beng. *ṭhāṭ* "framework", Hi. *ṭhāṭh* "frame of a roof"; Tam. Mal. Tel. Kann. Tulu *taṭṭi* "screen" is a loanword. Cf. Skr. *ṭal-*?;

Hi. *laṭā* "entangled, matted, tangled or matted hair", cf. *laṭā-dhārī* "having matted hair, a mendicant or an ascetic with matted hair" = *jaṭā-dhārī*; Nep. *laṭṭo* "cluster, lock of hair", *laṭṭinu* "to become matted or entangled (hair)", *laṭpaṭyāunu* "to wrap up, roll round, entangle", *laspasinu* "to come into contact with", Kshm. *laṭhur*[u] "woman's plaited hair", Si. *liṭa*

---

[82]) I take *ḍub-* "to dive or dip" and *ḍub-* "mud, marsh" as identical. It is however possible that they originally were different but have fused. In any case Nep. *copnu* "to dip, soak, drown", which Turner identifies with *copnu* "to stab", is a variant of *ḍub-*.

[83]) Bloch, BSOS. 5, 741, derives *jaṭā-* and *jūṭa-* from Dravidian. Scheftelowitz, KZ. 53, 267, connects *jāla-* with Arm. *calem* "to plait".

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

"matted hair", Mar. *laṭ* "entanglement, pubic hair", *laddā* "mattedness of hair"; with nasalization Nep. *laṇṭhā* "engagement, work, trouble, nuisance", and perhaps Skr. *kilañja-*, m., *kiliñja-*, m. (lex. *kaliñja-*) "mat".

Skr. dhtp. *jhaṭ-*, *jaṭ-* "to be entangled" (*ujjhaṭita-* "confused", Rājat.), lex. *jhāṭa-*, m. "arbour, jungle", Pa. *jālajaṭita-* "entangled", Pkt. *jaḍia-* "inlaid, set, studded", *jhāḍa-*, n. "*latāgahanam*" (Deśīn. 3, 57), Beng. *jallā* "feeding net for bullocks", Guj. *jārū* "cobweb", Nep. *jhilli* "web-like, webbed", *jhul* "curtain, mosquito-net", Mar. *jhāl* "tassel of hair, wicker-wood basket", *jhāṭ* "matted tress of hair", Nep. *jhāṭhā* "pubic hair", Guj. *jhālar* "wickerwork basket with a border" and many words which Turner derives from **jhāṭa-* "sudden movement", as Nep. *jhār* "small bush, tuft, weed", Ass. *zārni* "thick jungle", Lhd. *jhall* "jungle", Panj. *jhall* "reed-bed, thicket", Hi. *jhalār* "brushwood", Nep. *jhor* "brushwood, thicket, jungle" (to be separated from Pkt. *jhoḍa-* "dead tree", which rather belongs to the family of Skr. *śuṇṭhá-*, see p. 149 ff.), Hi. *jhuṇḍ* "shrub, bush, underwood, thicket, thick hair, a ragged-looking tree; multitude, crowd", *jhuṇḍ* "heap, crowd" (cf. Skr. lex. *jaṭi-* "plait of hair" : "multitude"), *jhaṇḍū* "a lock of hair, foliage of trees", *jhaṇḍūlā* "having thick hair, thick foliage, thick, bushy", *jhūṭ*, *jhuṛ*, *jhūṛ* "shrub, bush, bramble", *jhāṛ*, *jhāṛā* "bush, scrub", Mar. *jāḷ*, id. Cf. Skr. lex. *juṭikā-*, f. "tuft, bunch", *jhuṇṭa-* "shrub, bush" (Pañcat. Pūrṇabh.), and probably lex. *jūṭa-*, m. "twisted hair"; Or. *caṭa*, *caṭāi*, Hi. *caṭāī* "mat", Nep. *caṭāi* "matting" (see Turner s.v.), *sāṭo* "a cross-piece of bamboo or wood, rafter", Mar. *sāṭ*(*ā*) "frame of split bamboo".

Cf. S. *ḍandhi* "a tuft of high grass, clump (of bamboo), cluster", *ḍhāṭ* "a kind of coarse high grass, a thicket of hard, strong grass", *ḍhaḍa* "a covering of bamboo, a small bridge", *ḍhaḍi*, *ḍhaṛi* "the bamboo roof of a cart", *ḍuli* "the roof of a cart or wagon (made of bamboo)", *caṭa* "a mat of bamboo", *jaṭi*, id. (small), Kh. *cāṛo* "a mat of bamboo", *jhentu*, *jhintu* "mat of date-leaf", S. *jhaṇṭi* "wattle, fence made of branches", *jhan'jra* "sieve-like, perforated, full of holes, loosely-woven", *jin'jri* "a watering pot (with holes), loosely-plaited, wickered, a fish trap" (cf. Hi. *jhajjhar*, *jhanjhar*, *jhanjhrī*), *aṭuk' jhaṛuk'*, *aṭup' jhaṛup'* "through dense jungle, impassably; to entangle, impede", *aujhaṛ* "to impede, be entangled", *laṭa jhauṛa* "entangled, to entangle, entwine, confuse", *laoṭa* "a net for catching birds", *laṭa phaṇḍa* "entangled, entanglement", and a large number of words which mean "having untidy, dishevelled hair", e.g., *dandra*, *dandru*, *dandle*, *darka dale*, *darkal markal*, *doṇḍo*, *daḷpuṅ*, *dadarcam*, *dadurham*, *dalcaṅ dalcaṅ*; cf. *darum sarum* "shaggy, hairy, to have a bristly beard", *dunsi punsi* "dishevelled" [84]).

In view of the last-mentioned words it is tempting to derive Skr. *dāḍhikā-*, f. "beard" (Manu), Pa. *dāṭhikā-*, Pkt. *ḍāḍhiā-*, id. from this Proto-Munda

---

[84]) S. *ṭhaṭra* "a mat or screen of bamboo work", *ṭaṭi* "screen, fence" (Mar. *ṭāṭī*, K. *tāṭī*) are probably reborrowings from Hindi.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

word-family, cf. Ho *darca* "beard" (: S. *darka dale* "having dishevelled hair"), Hi. *jhajh* "a long beard". Bloch, BSOS. 5, 741, suggests a connexion with the Dravidian words for "cheek" (Tam. *tāḷ, tāṭai, tavaṭai*, Kann. *davaḍe*, Tel. *davaḍa*), but according to Ramaswami Aiyar, Ojhā-volume p. 15, these words are not native (he suggests an Austric origin). As for Tam. *tāṭi*, Kann. *dāḍi* "beard, chin", they are in R.A.'s opinion possibly a direct adaptation of *dāḍhikā-*. We may safely assume, accordingly, that *dāḍhikā-* is derived from Proto-Munda **ḍaḍi* and, as such, is a variant of Hi. *jhajh*.

Bloch 333 and Turner (s.v. *jaro* "root") identify Skr. *jaṭā-* "fibrous root" with *jaṭā-* "matted hair". I am not quite sure that this is correct [85]). It should be noted that there is a Proto-Munda root *ḍa-ḍa* "sticky", numerous derivatives of which occur in Santali (*laj-, laṭ-, las-, jaṭ-, jaṛ-*, etc.). It would be rash to affirm its identity with *ḍa-ḍa* "entangled"; S. *laṭa paṭa* "sticky, muddy, to be entangled in sticky matter" may be a contamination; on the other hand, though *jeṛeṭ'* "to stick together (eyelids, threads, hair)" may be applied to hair, its meaning is rather different from those of the words quoted above. From this root are derived Hi. *laj lajā, lij lijā, luj lujā, lac lacā, las lasā* "sticky, viscous", Nep. *lassā* "glue" (Skr. lex. *laśa-*, m. "gum"), *liṭo* "paste" (Hi. *leṭ*, id.), *lasyāilo, lisyāilo* "sticky, muddy, slippery", *leto, ledo* "sediment' (Hi. *let* "paste", Ass. *let-ket* "viscid"). Hence, though Hi. *lhes*, a variant of *les* "stickiness, paste" seems to support the traditional derivation from Skr. *śleṣman-* [86]), the etymology of Nep. *liso* "bird-lime", *lisinu* "to stick, adhere", etc. requires reconsideration.

34. *ḍ ă l a-*, "branch".

A late word, only occurring in S'īlāṅka's comm. on the Ācārāṅgasūtra; cf. Pkt. *ḍālā-*, id. [87]), *ḍālī-* "*śākhā*" (Deśīn. 4, 9); Hi. *ḍālā*, etc., see Turner s.v. *ḍālo* "branch, bough". Lidén, Studien zur altind. und vergl. Sprachgeschichte 80, connects this word with *daṇḍá-*, which he derives from IE. **del-* (Skr. *dalati* "bursts"). Turner suggests that these words may possibly originate from **ḍāla-* "piece split off", cf. Skr. *dāra-*, m. "splitting", *dala-*, m. "small shoot", whereas Chatterji 494 diffidently derives them from **ḍalla-* = *dru-, dāru-*.

Hi. *ḍār, ḍāl* means "branch, bough, basket (made of twigs, or split bamboo) used to throw up water from ponds, etc."; beside Beng. *ḍāl* "branch" there occurs *ḍālī* "basket", and Nep. *ḍālo* means both "branch,

---

[85]) Cf. S. *laṛ* "bast or bast fibre", which is in any case connected with the Proto-Munda original of *jaṭā-* "fibrous root" and see p. 83 on Bashkarik *nēr* "root": Skr. *naḍa-*.

[86]) See recently Tedesco, Language 19 (1943), pp. 7, 11, who compares Hi. *lhes* with Pkt. *lhasaï* < *sraṁsate*. Cf. rather Nep. *lahasinu* "to be attached to, stick to", *lahaso* "attachment".

[87]) See Lidén, op. c. 80 with n. 6; Turner gives *ḍāla-*, n.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

bough" and "basket (esp. a basket used for storing rice)". In Munda we find S. *ḍaṛ* "branch, bough", M. *ḍār, ḍārā* "big branch of a tree", and S. *ḍala* "large basket, broad, but with a tapering, not flat bottom, of bamboo, used for feeding cattle" (= Hi. *ḍalā*), M. *ḍālā*, Kh. *ḍāli* "basket". It is not clear which of these words are Aryan loans; the resultant *ạ* of S. *ḍaṛ* points to an original **ḍạri*, but cf. K. *dar*, So. *kĕndărā-, ĕndărā-*, id. (and Kann. *tōḷu* "head branch of a tree"?).

The original sense of several Dravidian and Munda words for "branch" is "bifurcated", e.g. Tam. *kavar* "a bifurcated branch", and S. *caṅga, caṅgra, caṅra* "bough of tree, branch of river, bifurcated, branching off" from the root *ḍa-ga* "bifurcated, wide apart", cf. *cag caga, cigạ cage, ciṅgạ caṅge, cihạ cahe*, etc. "to stride, straddle, part the legs wide, straddlingly", *cẹg cẹgẹ* "wide, with a big mouth, wide apart, asunder", *caṅgerae, caṅgọrae* "having a wide mouth, wide-necked, wide on top (vessels, baskets)", *cocoṅgot', cucuṅgut', cucuṅguc'* "on the hams or haunches" [88]). From the same root is derived K. *dāgān* "branch" (perhaps also *dāgā*? cf. Luke 13, 19). Kui *ḍẽgā*, Kann. *ṭŏṅgĕ*, Hi. *ḍōghī* "branch of a tree", Nep. *coke* "fork made by two pieces of wood" are Munda loanwords, perhaps also Skr. lex. *laṅkā-* "twig".

Beside S. *caṅga* "branch" we find again *caṅgari* (Beng. *cāṅgārī*) "a wide shallow basket", which is apparently connected with Ho *ṭuṅki*, So. *daṅkedā-* "basket". The meaning of the root, viz. "wide apart, wide open", accounts for its double application to legs and wide baskets. This leads us to suppose that Skr. *ḍāla-* is similarly derived from the root *ḍa-ḍa* "wide apart", cf. S. *ṭaṇḍa* "to straddle, part the legs", M. *ṭaṇḍā* "to stand with legs apart". It is possible, however, that the homonymous root *ḍa-ḍa* "short, stunted, bare, lopped" (see s. vv. *daṇḍá-* and *śuṇṭhá-*) has also yielded a word for branch, viz. Hi. *ṭhāl, .ṭhālā* "leafy branch (esp. one lopped off)." This word may be identical with Bishshau, Eastern Suketi, Bilaspuri *ḍāḷ* "tree" (J. Gr. Bailey, Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas 199, 216, 247) and further with Skr. *daṇḍá-*, lex. *jhaṭi-* "small tree" [89]). There are no indications, however, that *ḍāla-* originally has denoted a lopped branch.

35. *ḍ i m b (h) a-* "egg, child, etc.".

1. Skr. *ḍimba-* means: 1. "egg" (Pañcarātra, Mālatīm.). 2. "ball" (according to Wilson). 3. "an embryo in its first stage, a pupa of an insect" (lex.), 4. "a new-born child" (lex.). 5. "body" (S'iś.). Its variant *ḍimbha-* is used in nearly the same senses, viz. 1. "egg" (Pañcar.). 2. "a new-born child, a child, a boy" (Schol. on S'āṅkh. GS., Pañcar., Hāla,

---

[88]) The connexion with Hung. *csücsünget-* (de Hevesy, Bodding), to which F. Otto Schrader, BSOS. 8, 754, attaches much importance, should accordingly be rejected.

[89]) Cf. the parallel Rampur, Baghi *būṭ* "tree" (and Lower Kanauri *bōṭaṅ*, id.) = Hi. *bũṭ, bōṭ, bōṭā* "stalk, stem, stump", from the parallel root *wa-ḍa* (see s.v. *baṇḍá*).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Bālarām., Naiṣ.); cf. *ḍimbhavant-* (Yaśastil., see Schm. N.) and Tel. *ḍimbhamu* "an infant", *ḍimbhuḍu* "a little boy", Pkt. *ḍimbha-* (Jacobi Ausgew. Erzählungen, p. 24, l. 19). 3. "a young shoot" (Naiṣ.). 4. "body" (Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya, see Schmidt, Nachtr.). *Dimbhaka-* "a boy" occurs in a Pkt. passage of the Śāk.

The meanings "egg, ball, embryo" point to a primary meaning "globular" [90], cf. also lex. *jalaḍimba-* "a double-shelled mussel", *toyaḍimba-, toyaḍimbha-* "hail". Cf. *ḍa-ba* "globular, swollen, large and roundish, lumpy, knotty" in, e.g., S. *ḍab* "a lump, clod", *ḍombok'* "round ball of flour, clod of earth", *ḍhombok'* "a lump", *ḍhumbaḳ'* "a lump, ball (of earth, rice), lump of excrement", *ḍhimbạ, ḍhipkạ* "a lump of molasses or iron, earth", *ḍaṭhu, ḍiṭhu* "large, big and roundish" (cf. *ḍoṭho* : *ḍoṇṭho* "a knot", contamination of two roots?), *ḍumkạ* "roundish, oblong, oval", *ḍumkuc'* "small and oval" (contamination with *ḍa-wa* "small"), M. *ḍembā, ḍhembā* "clod", Ho *dimbu* "to be in the ear (used of paddy)".

Many derivatives from this root occur in NIA., e.g. Beng. *ḍhebuā* "lump, coin (stamped bit of copper)", *ḍhibrī* "axle-iron", *ḍhābā, ḍhibi* "mound, hillock" (Chatterji 499, 507). Prefixed derivatives are Skr. lex. *goḍimba-*, m., *goḍumba-*, m. "water-melon", *goḍumbā-*, f. "Cucumis maderaspatanus, colocynth", *kurumba-*, m. "a species of orange" (see pp. 24, 84). To the same affiliation also belongs the proper name *Hiḍimba-*: a prefix *hi-* occurs in several Proto-Munda words as *hi-llolayati* [91], *hi-ndolayati* (: *ă-ndolayati, dolāyate*, see Acta Orient. 16, 204, n. 2), *hi-ṅgu-*, m. "Asa foetida" (: Mon *ngu*, id.). In the Bombay-edition of the Mhbh. Hiḍimba is described as being *lambasphig lamba-jaṭharo* (1, 152, 3 = 5929 Calc.) which accounts for this name being given to the big-bellied Rākṣasa. Identical with *Hiḍimba-* is, in my opinion, *Heramba-*, a name of Gaṇeśa (Mhbh., Kathās., Lex.), which Bloch, BSOS. 5, 740, confounds with the Dravidian word *heramba-* "buffalo" (see n. 117). It should be noted that in Pkt. the name *Herimba-*, m. "Gaṇeśa" (*vināyakaḥ*, Deśīn. 8, 72) is distinct from *herambạ-*, m. "buffalo" (8, 76). In sculptural art Gaṇeśa is represented as a big-bellied person. The prefix *he-*, a variant of *hi-*, is also met with in Pkt. *he-ramba-* "drum" (see p. 86) and in Skr. lex. *heramba-* "a boastful hero" (p. 19).

The modern equivalents of Skr. *śimba-*, m., *śimbī-*, f. "legume, pod" (Suśr.), *śimbi-*, f., id. (Mālatīm.), etc. are: Hi. *chīmī* "pod, legume, bean, green pease, etc. in the pod", Beng. *chim* "bean", Nep. *chimi* "pod", and Nep. *simi, sībi, sib(h)i*, Hi. *sem*, Beng. *sim(i)*, etc., "bean". The nasalization of *b* (cf. in Munda: Ho *simri* "bean") and the prefixation in Skr. lex.

---

[90] Cf. Kshm. *ṭhūl* "egg", Nep. *phul* "egg, testicle" (see Turner s.v.) and Tam. *piṇṭam* (< Skr. *piṇḍa-*) "globular, ball, embryo, foetus".

[91] Unless this is a blending, cf. Kh. *hilo ḍolo* "to move to and fro", S. *hilo ḍolo* "swayingly".

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

kusimbī-, f. "*śimbī*" (Rājanighaṇṭu) [92]) are indications of Proto-Munda origin. The bean and the pea are often named from their roundish shape, e.g. M. *rāmb(ā)ṛā* "a kind of pulse, Phaseolus Roxburghii", Hi. *lobiyā*, *lobhiyā* "the cow-pea, vigna catjang (Dolichos sinensis)", which are derived from *ḍa-ba* "roundish, globular" and *barbaṭī-* (the Sanskrit name of the *lobiyā*, see Helen M. Johnson, JAOS. 61, 170), *māṣa-* "bean", *masūra-* "lentil", which belong to *ba-ḍa* "swollen". Hence *śimba-* is probably a variant of *ḍimba-*, cf. e.g. S. *ṭhubẹ* "knob, bunch, excrescence, tumour", K. *tēbe* "cob of maize", Hi. Nep. *ḍhibri* "nut" [93]). Does Ved. *śimbāta-* in the dual *vāṁsagéva pūṣaryà śimbātā* ṚS. 10, 106, 5 perhaps mean *puṣṭaḥ* "well-fed"? This hymn contains several Proto-Munda hapax legomena, e.g. *turphárī*, *parpharīkā* ~ *tartar-*, *parphar-*.

2. Skr. *ḍimbha-*, m. "child, boy" is obviously connected with the prefixed variant Pkt. *silimba-*, m. "child" (*śiśuḥ*, Deśīn. 8, 30). Although the meaning "egg" is sometimes so widened as to comprise also the notion "child" (cf. Tam. *karu* "foetus, egg, child"), this is unlikely to be the case with *ḍimbha-*, which presupposes an original sense "small". Cf. Nep. *ḍambaru*, *ḍammaru* "tiger's cub" and, with assibilation of the cerebral, Skr. *śāva-*, m. "young of an animal" (since Mhbh., Rām. *mṛgaśāva-*), Pa. *chāpa-*, *chāpaka-*, Pkt. (AMg.) *chāva-*, *chāvaa-*, id. The initial *ch* is mostly explained as being the result of Middle Indian aspiration of *ś* (Pischel § 211, Geiger § 40, Woolner, Introduction to Prakrit p. 11), although Turner s.v. *chāwā* tentatively traces it back to a different IE. original (**skēu̯o-* beside **kēu̯o-*). On the other hand, the Skr. word is supposed to stand for *śāba-* (which is, indeed, the spelling in South-Indian MSS., see Böhtlingk, VI, 228) on account of Pa. *chāpa-*; but the Bombay editions, which as a rule correctly distinguish *v* and *b*, have throughout *śāva-*.

Many Proto-Munda words for "child, boy, young of an animal" are derived from roots signifying "stunted, short, small" (cf. e.g. Skr. *kiśora-*, *ceṭa-*, *baṭu-*, Hi. *beṭā*). In the same way the words quoted above are derivatives from *ḍa-wa* "stunted, dwarfish", cf. S. *ḍẹbẹ* "dwarfish, small", *ḍẹblẹ* "short, dwarfish, tiny", *ḍẹbẹ ḍẹbẹ* "exhausted, tired, dwarfish, small, to be stunted", *ṭepa ṭepe* "small, little" (Campbell), *ṭhẹpọ* "small, below standard size", *ṭhepca* "short, of low stature", *ṭhẹblẹ* "low, small, dwarfish, stunted", M. *ṭhepā* "short in stature, a dwarf", *ṭāprā ṭoprā* "small", *ṭupā*, *ṭumpu* "blunt" (see s.v. *tūparā-*), S. *ṭẹmbọ* "small-sized (fruit)", *ṭẹmbroṭ'* "small, of low size, but plump" (contamination with *ḍa-ba* "globular"), *ṭẹmẹl*, *ṭẹmrẹṭ'* "small, little, dwarfish", *ṭẹmbẹ ṭuraṛ* "small (animals, children)" (for *ṭuraṛ*, see p. 150); *cẹpọ* "small", *cẹplẹ* "flat, low, of small stature" (contamination with the word-group discussed s.v. *cipiṭa-*), etc. See further s.v. *tūparā-*.

---

[92]) It is not clear which plant is denoted by the name *kuśimbi-*, f. (Suśr.).

[93]) As for *tuvaraka-*, which Suśruta mentions among the *kudhānya-*, see Burrow, Transactions Philol. Soc. 1945, 107.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

3. The third meaning of *ḍimba-, ḍimbha-* is "body". Cf. Pkt. *kālimba-* "body", although Deśīn. 2, 58, 59 *kāliā-* ~ *kālimba-* "body, cloud" might suggest a radical element *kal-* (*kāliā, kālimba-* "cloud" from *kāla-* "black"?; cf. Skr. *mecaka-* and Tam. *kaḷam* "blackness, cloud"). On the other hand, the derivation of *kā-limba-* from *ḍimba-* is supported by Skr. *kaḍebara-* (Lüders, Phil. Ind. 549, 557), Buddh. *kaḍevara-* (Böhtlingk VII, 329, add Jātakam. 45, 18; 211, 3, etc.), ep. *kalebara-, kalevara-* (Mhbh. Calc. Bomb. Poona), *kaḷebara-* Vāsavad. 154, 15 Gray, Pkt. *kalevara-, kalera-* (Pischel §§ 201 and 149) "body". Cf. also Pkt. *olimbhā-* "*upadehikā*" (Deśīn. 1. 153). *Kaḍebara-* and *ḍimba-* are likely derivatives from *ḍa-ba* "globular" (cf. S. *ḍhoḃ* "form, shape, pattern"; *ḍhoḃo* "big-bellied", Nep. *ḍhab, ḍhap* "form, shape"; *ḍhabbu* "big, huge, chubby-cheeked"). Pali *kaḷevara-* "step in a flight of stairs" admits more than one explanation (cf. Beng. *ḍhibi* "mound", Panj. *ḍhibbā* "heap of sand", *ṭībā* "sandbank, hill", Kann. *dibba, ḍimbu, dimmi* "eminence, etc."?).

36. *ḍuṇḍubha-*, m. **"a certain kind of non-venomous water-snake".**

According to the Pet. Dict.: "Amphisbäne, eine Eidechsenart ohne Füsse" (later corrected: "es sind *giftlose Schlangen* gemeint" vol. VII, 1747); the smaller Pet. Dict. has again "Eidechsenart ohne Füsse", hence Cappeller "a kind of lizard". In the well-known story of Ruru the *ḍuṇḍubha-* is referred to as *bhujaga-* (Mhbh. I, 10, 6.7 edd. Bomb. Poona), although it is said to be a harmless one, cf. I, 10, 3 *anye te bhujagā, brahman, ye daśantīha mānavān/ḍuṇḍubhān ahigandhena na tvaṁ himsitum arhasi*, and I, 11, 4 B. P., where the Ṛṣi is cursed to be henceforth an *avīryo bhujaṁgaḥ*. Likewise Kathās. 14, 84: *ahinā te priyā daṣṭā, vibhinnau cāhiḍuṇḍubhau/ ahayaḥ saviṣāḥ sarve, nirviṣā ḍuṇḍubhā iti*. Hence the *ḍuṇḍubhas* are mentioned as being different from serpents in Mhbh. 2, 69, 35 (South. recension, see Hopkins, Epic Mythology 25), and the vidūṣaka in the Mṛcchakaṭikā, when stating with sad resignation that he is not a real brahmin, says *jadhā savvaṇāgāṇaṁ majjhe ḍuṇḍuho, tadhā savvabamhaṇāṇaṁ majjhe ahaṁ bamhaṇo* "no more than the *ḍuṇḍubha* is a (real) serpent, am I a (real) brahmin" (Mṛcch. p. 83, l. 7, ed. Parab). The commentary quotes *nirviṣā ḍuṇḍubhāḥ smṛtāḥ* [94]).

The *ḍuṇḍubha-* is a water-snake. In Mhbh. 7, 156, 175 the battle-field is likened to a river which is called *prāsaśaktyṛṣṭiḍuṇḍubhā*, i.e. of which the snakes are the various missiles. This is confirmed by Pali *deḍḍubha(ka)-* "een ongiftige waterslang of salamander" (Kern, Toevoegselen op het Pali-Wb. van Childers, I, p. 115; *udakadeḍḍubhā* is var. reading for *udakamaṇḍūkabhakkhā* in the Daddarajātaka), and by the commentary on Ait. Br. 3, 26, 3 (*sa sarpo nirdaṁśy abhavat*) : *nirdaṁśī daṁśanāsamarthaḥ ... jalamadhye saṁcarato dundubhākhyasya sarpasya viṣarahitatvād daṁśanasāmarthyaṁ nāsti*. Böhtlingk suggests that a water-salamander may

94) Cf. Kṣīrasvāmin's comm. on Amara 1, 7, 5 (1, 2, 1, 5): *nirviṣo dvimukho 'hiḥ*.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

be meant. By the side of *ḍuṇḍubha-* and *dundubha-* (Ait. Br.) the following variants occur:

dundubhi- or *duṇḍabhi-* (the manuscripts vary), Varāh. Bṛh. S. 53, 17.

duṇḍubhi- Suśr. 1, 10, 12, mentioned as a venomous animal!

duṇḍubha-, Mhbh. 7, 6905 Calc.

ḍiṇḍibha- (v.l. *ḍiḍiva-*) "water-snake" in the lexicon Madanavinodanighaṇṭu (see below, line 5 from the bottom).

ḍuḍubha-, v.l. ad Amara.

ḍuḍuma- in Mṛcch. p. 90, l. 2 (III, 20), ed. Parab: S'arvilaka boasts on his cleverness and adroitness: in every difficult situation he has an expedient at hand for he is *dīpo rātriṣu, saṁkaṭeṣu ḍuḍumo, vājī sthale, naur jale*, which must mean that in a difficult situation (and in a narrow place) he can escape as easily and as quick as a *ḍuḍuma-* (either a snake or a salamander; "lizard" according to the Pet. Dict.) Stenzler's text however reads *ḍuḍubha-* which may be the correct form.

ḍuṇḍu-, f. (Trikāṇḍaśeṣa) is the sole form without *bh* in Sanskrit but Hi. has *ḍūḍ, ḍūḍu* (beside *ḍuṇḍubh*, a loanword from Sanskrit) "a kind of lizard without feet, a kind of snake". As for Beng. *dhōṛā, ḍhōṛā* "water-snake", which Chatterji 507 derives from Skr. *duṇḍubhi-*, resp. *ḍuṇḍubhi-*, its initial aspirate (as against Hi. *ḍōr, ḍōrā* "a kind of lizard, a kind of snake with two heads") is variously explained ("by transference of aspirate" Chatterji 495, "through aspiration" 498). Obviously these modern words are younger borrowings from Munda, cf.:

S. *ḍhōṇḍ* (*bin'*) "a certain water snake, the checkered keelback, Tropidonotus piscator; non-poisonous, but quick to bite if trodden on", M. Bh. *ḍuṇḍu* (*biṅ*), *dhōḍ* "a kind of snake", M. *ḍorā biṅ*, Bh. *dora biṅ*, id., Ho *ḍoṇḍā* "lizard", *ḍuṇḍu biṅ* "water snake", K. *dindu, dendu* "water snake". Cf. further S. *ḍuluḍuṅ, duluḍaṅ, ḍoloḍaṅ* (from **ḍuḍu* + *ḍaṅ*) "a small non-poisonous snake, Callophis Maclellandii", which in the local Aryan dialect is called *hulhulia* (< **ḍhulḍhulia*), and S. *hoṛ hoṛaṅ bin'* "a non-poisonous snake, the grass snake, Coluber Stolatus" (< **ḍhoṛ ḍhoṛaṅ*). With regard to the tale of Ruru it is interesting to note that "The *duludun* snake is never killed. If any person kills one, snakes will infest his house" (Rev. A. Campbell, JBORS. I, 1915, 218). Cf. perhaps also S. *tutri bin'* "a certain snake, Russell's earth-snake, Eryx conicus; non venomous".

As the statement of the Mhbh. that *ḍuṇḍubhas* do not bite men may be a poetic licence, we may safely infer that the *ḍuṇḍubha-* is identical with the *ḍhōṇḍ*, the checkered keelback. That it is checkered appears from its identification with the *rājila-* (*alagardo jalavyālaḥ samau rājila-ḍuṇḍubhau*, Amarakośa 1, 7, 5; cf. comm. on Harṣac. p. 225, l. 5, ed. Parab[2]: *rājilo ḍiṇḍibhākhyo nirviṣaḥ sarpaḥ*). Since *rājila-* means "striped" the snakes denoted by that name must have had a variegated skin. Tel. *tuṭṭe-purugu* "a sort of venomous snake barred black and grey", Tam. *tuṇṭu-(k)kattari* "a kind of venomous worm" perhaps contain Munda loanwords (cf. S. *tutri biṅ*).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

The explanation proposed by H. Petersson, Studien zu Fortunatovs Regel 85 (*ḍuṇḍubha-* < IE. **dul-ndo-bho*), is exemplary of how Skr. words should *not* be explained.

37. *tāmbūla-*, n. "betel".

Since Var. BS., Hariv. This word has often been discussed and its Austro-Asiatic origin may now be considered an established fact (see the references in Acta Orient. 16, 305). The prim. Austro-Asiatic form of the word must have been **bĕlū*, cf. Bahnar *bölöu*, Alak *balu*, Kha *blu*, Palang *plū*, etc. A corresponding Munda form has not been found hitherto. Przyluski, it is true, connects the Austro-Asiatic word with Khmer *mul* "round", *mur* "to roll",-S. *gulu mulu* "round, spherical, to roll into a ball", *guṛ muṛiạ* "spherical, globular, round" (BSL. 24, 1924, 257 f.), but it is not advisable to base any theory on such vague word-comparisons, the less so as these words point to a root *buḍ-*, whereas the word for "betel" has throughout *l* in all Austro-Asiatic languages. Nevertheless it can be proved that *tāmbūla-* must have been borrowed, not from any Austro-Asiatic dialect spoken in Further India, but from Proto-Munda.

The *ū* of *tāmbūla-* has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Przyluski, p. 258, only observes that in the Further Indian languages the *u* follows after the liquid, whereas in Sanskrit and Pali it precedes it (as is also the case in *mur/mul* "to roll"). In Acta Orient. 16, 305, I assumed an original **bulū*, beside **bĕlū*, *balū*, which became *bul* through loss of the final vowel. The *u* of *tāmbūla-* however results from a specific Proto-Munda development. Prim. Austro-Asiatic had, like Austronesian, a phoneme *ĕ* (called *pĕpĕt* in Indonesian linguistics), which is still preserved in Bahnar, Sakai-Semang, and some other dialects, but has disappeared in Mon and Khmer. In Khasi it is represented by *y*. In Munda it still survives (to some extent, at least) in Sora, e.g. So. *jĕrŭ-* : Central Sakai *jĕrö* "deep". In the other Munda dialects, however, the *pĕpĕt* has been umlauted by the following vowel, e.g. K. *ghamā*, M. *gāmā* "to rain" : Besisi *gĕmā, gĕmāh* (Kh. *gim-* see below); S. *sin'*, M. Ho *siṅgi* "sun, day" : Khasi *sṅi*, Palaung *shạ-ngī* "sun" (prim. Austro-As. **sĕ-ṅī* [95]); S.M.K. *sunum* "oil" : Senoi *sĕ-num*, id.; K. *kunum* "urine" : Semang *kĕnum, kĕnom*, id. It should further be noted that Munda has very often beside the original disyllabic words younger monosyllabic variants, cf. S. *sin'*, K. *siṅ* (only in *siṅa-rup', siṅ-rup'* "*setting of the sun" > "evening") as against M. Ho *siṅgi*, Kherwari *bir* "jungle" : Sakai, Stieng, etc. *bri* (prim. A.–A. **bĕrī*). Skr. *tāmbūla-* accordingly reflects a Proto-Munda original **tā-mbūl* from **ta-mbĕlū*, a pre-nasalized variant of Lavé *mĕlu*, Stieng *mlu*. It thus provides us a *terminus ante quem* for the *u*-umlaut of the Proto-Munda *pĕpĕt*.

---

[95]) Variant of **tĕ-ṅai* or **tĕ-ṅī*, cf. Mon *tañoa* (*ñoa*), Khmer *thṅaiy*, Samre, Por *thṅi*, Prou *tangai*, Sakai *tĕṅ-ṅi*, Serting *tĕnyī*.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

In this connexion attention may be drawn to Ved. *pīlu-* in the compound *pīlu-mant-*, which occurs in the verse

udanvatī dyaúr avamā́ pīlumatīti madhyamā́
tr̥tīyā́ ha pradyaúr iti yásyāṁ pitára ā́sate Ath. S. 18, 2, 48.

"Watery is the lowest heaven, full of stars (?) is called the midmost; the third is called the fore-heaven, in which the Fathers sit" (Whitney). The exact meaning of *pīlumatī-* is unknown. Whitney's translation is only based on the commentary's rendering *grahanakṣatrādayaḥ*. See however Narahari, Annals Bhandarkar Or. Res. Inst. 23, 305, who also holds this to be the meaning of the word. Although this obscure word is no reliable foundation for any theory, it may be noted with due reserve that, if the existence of a word *pīlu-* "star" could be rendered probable on other grounds, it could be explained as a Proto-Munda loanword. The common word for "star" in Kherwari (S.M. Ho Kw.) and Kurku is *ipil* (N., also K., *iphil*). Some authorities quote somewhat different forms as K. *epal* (Rakhal Das Haldar, Hunter, Crooke), Kw. *epal* (Crooke), *epil* (Driver), *pilu* (Rakhal Das Haldar), but their correctness is questionable. These words contain a prefix *i-*, *ĕ-*, and *p(h)il-* < **pĕlīh* < **pĕlohi* or **pĕloih*, cf. Senoi *pĕlaui*, *pĕrlaui*, Sakai *pĕrlohi*, *pĕloi*, Semang *puloe*, *pĕluih*. In *pīlu-*, which presupposes Proto-M. **pilu* (instead of **pilī* > *pil*), the *pĕpĕt*, instead of being umlauted, would have become *i* as in Kharia, cf. Kh. *selop* "deer" (S.M.K. *silip*), *berod* "to rise" (M. *birid*), *biru* "hill" (S.M.Bh. Ho *buru*, So. *bĕrū-*), etc.

38. *timita-* "wet, damp" (Kauṭ.), etc.

The Dhātup. has *timyati*, *tīmyati* "to be wet, damp", *tepati* "to drip", and lexicographers mention some derivatives from *tim-* as *tema-*, *temana-*. Tarapada Chowdhury's assumption that *taimātá-* (Ath. S. 5, 13, 6; 18, 4) means "wet, liquid, living in water" is merely conjectural and does not prove the existence of **tema-* in the Vedic period. By the side of *timyati* occurs *stimyati* "*ārdrībhāve*", which is attested in the classical literature. The Pet. Dict. quotes Caurapañcāśikā 21 (ed. Bollensen) *tāṁ stimitavastram ivāṅgalagnām* (*ārdravasanam* comm.) and Kielhorn in his note on Pañcat. I, 7[22] (śl. 29) explains *stimitonnatasaṁcārāḥ* as referring both to *jaladāḥ* ("wet, moist") and to *sajjanāḥ* ("fixed, steady"), which, however, is not necessary (see Böhtlingk, Ind. Spr.).

The variation *stim-* : *tim-* does not prove the IE. origin of these words. *Stimita-* "fixed", which is a different word (see Acta Orient. 20, 32 f.) may have influenced *tim-* (as inversely *timita-* is sometimes used in the sense of *stimita-*, l.c.), unless *stim-* is a Sanskritization of Pkt. **thimmadi* = *timmadi*. In any case Pkt. *theva-* "a drop, a little" and *thippaī* "to drip", which Pischel, pp. 102 f., 149, derives from Skr. *stepati* (*kṣaraṇārthaḥ*, Dhātup. 1, 388) are the original forms, from which the Sanskrit root has been derived.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

The Proto-Munda origin is clear on account of the variation *-p* : *-m* (Mar. *ṭīp* "drop, tear", Hi. *ṭīpnā* "to make drip", Mar. *thēb* "drop", Guj. *uthevo*, etc., see Bloch, pp. 339, 350, as opposed to Pali *temanaṁ* "wetting", Beng. *teman* "sauce", Mar. *tevṇē* "to dissolve, become moist", see Turner, s.v. *tiun*) and the vowel variation in Hi. *ṭap* "sound of dropping, patter or drop (of rain)", *ṭapṭapānā* "to drop continually, to drip", *ṭabhak*, *ṭapak* "sound of dropping, the dropping", *ṭapkā* "continuous dropping, dripping", *ṭipkā* "a drop, a spot", Beng. *ṭupā* "to drip", etc.

Cf. S. *ṭipaḳ'*; "a drop (of rain), to fall in drops" (M. *ṭipā*), *ṭipic' ṭapak'* "drizzlingly, to drizzle", *ṭipic' ṭipic'* "id. (about drizzling rain)", *ṭipoḳ' ṭoṛoḳ'* "dripping,, in drops, to trickle, leak", *ṭip ṭap* "one after the other", *ṭapac' ṭipic'* "in few drops, to rain in drops", *ṭopoḳ'* (*ṭhopoḳ'*?) "to drop, drip, a drop" *ṭhop*, id., *ṭhop ṭhop* "in drops, drippingly", *ṭhop ṭhopo* "to drop, drip", *lipaḳ' capak'* "(to fall) in large drops", etc.

As the initial consonant is a cerebral we may expect to find the regular variants with palatals or sibilant. As a matter of fact, Santali has (beside *ṭipic' ṭipic'* "drizzlingly, to drizzle"), *jipir jipir*, id., *sipir sipir*, adv. "continued drizzingly". Similar variants occur in NIA. Thus Nepali has, by the side of *ṭap* "ear-pendant", *tap-tap* "the sound of dripping or throbbing", *tapaknu* "to drip, drop, trickle", also *jhimi-jhimi* "drizzling rain, drizzle", *jhimjhime* "steadily drizzling", *sim-sim*, *sim-simi* "falling in light showers", cf. Hi. *jham-jham* "heavy down-pour", Mar. *jhim-jhim* "softly and lightly (of rain)", etc.

[Unlike these words for "drizzling, dripping" (to which, it seems, also belong Kui *tipi topu inba* "to fall drop by drop", Tam. *tumi* "rain drops; light, drizzling rain"), *timita-* (and Pa. *temana-*, Mar. *tevṇē*) express the general meaning "moist". It is doubtful, therefore, that these words should be connected with the first word-family. They rather constitute a different word-group which may be connected with the words discussed on p. 61, s.v. *jambāla-*].

39. ***t u m u l a-*** **"tumultuous, confused"; n. "noise, tumult, uproar".**

Since Lāṭy. S'S., Mhbh. The connexion with Latin *tumultus*, which dates back to the early days of Indo-European studies (cf. Pott, Etymologische Forschungen, 1st ed., I, 1833, 90) is generally accepted. Like its morphological parallel *singultus*, however, *tumultus* is a verbal noun; it stands for **tumel-tu-s* and presupposes a verb **tum-el-io*, just as *sepultūra* is derived from the stem of *sepelio* "I bury". *Sepelio* contains a verbal suffix *-el-* (see H. Pedersen, KZ. 39, 354, W. Schulze, KZ. 41, 335) and is derived from the root *sep-* (Skr. *sápati*). Since **tumel-* cannot be an Indo-European root, it must have been derived in the same way from **tum-* (cf. Lith. *stúmti* "to push, shove", rather than Latin *tumeo* "I am swollen", with which Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterb. s.v. connects it).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

As for Skr. *tumula-* (*tumala-, tumura-*), it cannot well be derived from the same stem **tum-el-* on account of *-ula-*. Some scholars, it is true, assume a suffix *-ulo-* (Benveniste, Origines de la formation des mots en indo-européen I, 41) but this does not explain either *tumultus* (which is a verbal noun), or the Skr. variant *tumala-* in Mhbh. and Raghuv. (see Pet. Dict.). The reading *tumūla-* is prob. worthless, but Tam. *timilam* "great din, noise, tumult" (Tiruvācakam 29, 4), *timil, timirtam* (*timitam*), id. may also be of interest for the explanation of *tumula-*. Of particular importance, however, are several NIA. words which suggest a derivation from a root *mul-, mal-* (cf. Pkt. *bamāla-* "*tumule*", comm. *kalakalaḥ*, Deśīn. 6, 90). These words are Hi. *talmalī* "restlessness, fidgetiness, impatience", *talmalānā* "to be restless, agitated, impatient", Nep. *talbal* "restlessness", *talbale* "restless", *tulbul* "unrest, uneasiness", *tulbule* "restless", *tulbulinu* "to be confused, be agitated or uneasy", *tarbar* "hastiness, nervousness" (adj. *tarbare*), etc. The second component of these words, viz. *bal/bul, bar* (nasalized *mal*) stands for *baḍ*, cf. Hi. *taṛā-bharī* "haste, hurry, panic" : *taṛp(h)aṛānā* "to be agitated, to toss about restlessly or uneasily", *caṭpaṭānā, chaṭpaṭānā*, id., Nep. *caṭṭa-paṭṭa, caṭ-paṭ* "haste, hurry", *caṭ-paṭāunu* "to be in a hurry", *chaṭpaṭe* "restless, flighty, sprightly", *jhaṭṭa-paṭṭa, jhaṭ-paṭ* "at once, quickness, hurry", *cuṭ-piṭ* "riot, quarrel" and, with final nasalization, *chunmune* "restless (of children)"; with *l*: Guj. *laṭpaṭ* "restlessness" (see Turner s.v. *laṭpaṭinu*). It is clear that most of these words are echo-words, the components of which are derived from Proto-Munda roots *ḍa-ḍa* and *ba-ḍa*. Other instances are, e.g. Hi. *culbul* "restlessness, playfulness", *culbulā, culbuliyā* "restless, fidgety", Beng. *cul-bulā, cil-bilā* "to be fidgety, to be eager to move away", *tal-balā* "to be shaky and moving", *dal-malā* "to shake and pat" (Chatterji 891) [96], Nep. *salbale* "constantly moving, restless", *cillibilli* "at sixes and sevens, a state of complete disorder", *laṭhābajra, laṭhābadra* "state of disorder or mismanagement".

The proper meaning of these word-groups is "confusion", cf. So. *géluṅ-bóluṅ* "confused", S. *albaṭ salbaṭ* "confusedly, to confuse", *ạlmạl* "confusion, disorder" [97], *andmandao* "confusion, to confuse, etc.", *ạnduk' mạnduk'* "perplexed, troubled", *asbas* "perplexity, bewilderment, etc.", *dalmalao* "to shake, agitate, disturb", *taṛbaṛao, tuṛbuṛạu* "to drive, hurry on, hasten, urge", *sarphaṛ* "to act restlessly", *cuṛuk' bhuṭuk', culur b(h)uṭur, culuṅ bhuṭuṅ* "restless, unsteady", *culbuliạ* "unstable, restless, fidgety" (parallel to *ulbuliạ*; perhaps reborrowed from Hi.), *chil bil* "restless", *chaṭ paṭ* "to be restless, impatient", *chilki bilki, tilki bilki* "eagerly,

---

[96]) Mar. *taḍphaḍ* "shock, struggle", *taḍphaḍṇē* "to shake violently" has a similar divergent meaning. But cf. Apabhraṁśa *taḍapphaḍai "uttāmyati, ākulībhavati, capalāyate"* (Bloch 344). Probably there is a contamination of several roots ("hurry", "to shake", "disorder"), which can no longer be distinguished. Cf. Nep. *jhārnu* "to shake off", etc.

[97]) The "resultant" *ạ* is from *ạu*, cf. *ạulạ pạulạ* "irregular, in disorder" (blending with an Aryan word? Cf. Beng. *āula*, which Chatterji 383 derives from Skr. *ākula-*).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

restlessly" (contamination with the root discussed s.v. *lola-*), etc. Echo-words derived from *ḍa-ḍa* alone are: *ṭhoḷ ṭhoḷ* "restless, agitated", *loṛo thoṛo* "impatiently, nervously", *loto thoṛo*, id., *cuṭ cuṭ* "to be eager, restless, impatient" (contamination as above), *caṛak' cuṛuk'* "restlessly (jump about)". As for *ba-ḍa*, derivatives from this root also occur in combination with those from *ga-ḍa*, cf. S. *gaḍbaḍ, gaṛbaṛ, haḷmaḷ, golmal, gul mal*, etc. (see s.v. *ākula-*), and Pkt. *halabola-*, m. ~ *bola-*, m. (*kalakalaḥ* Deśīn. 8, 64; 6, 90), Tel. *galibili* "disorder, confusion". Iteration of *baḍ-* occurs in Skr. *bharbharā́-bhū* "to get in disorder" (Maitr. S.), Old Beng. *bhābarī* "coquetry", mod. Beng. *bhābṛāna* "to get confused", *phāpar* "confusion" (Chatterji 512, 516). Cf. M. *bambar* "delirium, to talk nonsense"?

In *tumula-* the two words **tul* and **mul* must accordingly have coalesced to one new word. This explanation may seem rather far-fetched from an Indo-European point of view, but in Munda (and in NIA.) such blendings occur very frequently. Elsewhere (s.v. *ākula-*) we have drawn attention to **gabaḍ*, which is a blending of **gab-* and **gaḍbaḍ-*. Another instance is, e.g., Hi. *jhapaṭnā* "to go quickly, run with all speed" : *jhap* and *jhaṭ paṭ* "quickness, rapidity". In the case of *tumula-*, the echoword **tul mul* has probably been blended with **ṭum-*, a derivative from a root *ḍa-ba*, which may be inferred from Skr. *ḍamara-* "affray, political riot or disturbance" (see s.v. *āṭopa-*) and S. *ḍamaḍol* "confusion, disorder, uproar, disturbance, tumult", which is composed of the words *ḍama* and *ḍol* (from *ḍa-ḍa*, cf. *dalmalao, ṭhoḷ ṭhoḷ*, etc.) [98]). Cf. Hi. *dhamā-caukṛī* "tumult", Nep. *dhumcakra, dhuncakra* "uproar, confusion", Beng. *dhum-dhām* "tumult, pomp" (contamination with a congener of Skr. *āḍambara-*), Nep. *dhum* "riot, bustle, ado". However, in view of Kshm. *tambalun* "to be agitated" (*ḍam* + *bal*), a combination *ḍam* + *mal* (> **tumal, *tumul*) is also possible.

40. *tūparáa-* "hornless; m. a hornless goat".

A common word in Yajur-Vedic texts (Taitt. S., Kāth. S., Vāj. S., etc.) and in the Atharva Saṁhitā. It also denotes a sacrificial post without its top, cf. Taitt. Br. 1, 3, 7, 2 ("abgestumpft" Pet. Dict.), Āp. S'S. 18, 1, 8 ("ungehörnt" Caland). In the later language *tūbara-, tūvara-* is used instead, cf. lex. *tūvara-* "hornless bull, beardless man, eunuch", and, in the Mahābhārata, *tūbaraka-* "castrated person, weakling" (as a term of contempt, 5, 160, 64, etc.). For this sense-development cf. *paṇḍra-* (s.v. *baṇḍá-*). It should be noted that *tūbara-, tūvara-* (which are usually regarded as Middle Indian equivalents of *tūpara-*) may equally well represent the original form of the word, the *p* being due either to Proto-Munda unvoicing or to the tendency of the Vedic language to avoid *b*, which was considered a characteristic of Prakrit (like *ṭ, ḍ*, etc.).

---

[98]) Beng. *ḍāmāḍol* "tumult" is of deśī origin according to Chatterji 495. See s.v. *āṭopa-*.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

The initial *t* stands for *ṭ*, just as in S. *tope* "short, to cut (off, short), dock (a horse), tear out the tail", *thopro* "low, short brushwood, to cut low, become stunted", *thẹpreṛc'* "small, low, stunted, puny (trees, plants)", *thapra thopro* "small brushwood, to become small, stunted". The cerebral is still preserved in M. *ṭupā*, *ṭumpu* "blunt", S. *ṭhẹbleṛ* "low, small, dwarfish, stunted", and several words for "small" as M. *ṭhepā* "short in stature, dwarf". Cf. further K. *tūpāl* "sapling" (< *"small"?), Kh. *sumbro* "trunk (of a tree)", *ṭāmpā ṭōmpē* "puny", Ho *tumb-rub* "short", K. *dāmū* "to be blunt".

Like the synonymous roots *ḍa-ḍa* and *wa-ḍa* (see s. vv. *daṇḍá-*, *baṇḍá-*) the root *ḍa-wa* may develop the meanings ("cut off, stripped" >) "solitary, bereft" and, on the other hand, ("cut off" >) "stunted, small, dwarfish". Cf. S. *thubṛaṛ* "an old bachelor" (whence Beng. *thubṛā*) and S. *ṭuaṛ* (*t. ṭapar*) "orphan(s)". The last word still preserves the ancient form of the Proto-Munda word, which has been borrowed as Skr. *tūvara-*, *tūbara-*, viz. **ṭuwar*. This word has again been borrowed into Aryan at later dates. Thus Pkt. *ṭūvara-* may have been taken directly from Munda and its initial cerebral need not be explained as a phonetic development of Aryan (see Pischel § 218). A comparatively recent borrowing is apparently Nep. *ṭuhuro* "orphan", which is particularly interesting both on account of its meaning (which is identical with that of the Kherwari word), and because of the intervocalic *h*. In Kherwari, particularly in Santali, intervocalic *v* and *w* may be represented by *h*, e.g., S. *loḥoṭ'* (M. *luād*) "wet, moist" from the root *ḍa-wa* (see s.v. *jambāla-*). It is not *a priori* certain, therefore, that the *h* in *ṭuhuro* results from a phonetic development of Nepali [99]). Other loanwords in Nepali are *ṭumminu* "to be cut off at the root, to finish", *ṭumoṭe* "small, slight, mean" (cf. S. *ṭaṃuṭi*, p. 105!)

Parallel developments are, e.g., Skr. *kūṭá-* "not horned" : *kuṇṭha-* "blunt" from *ga-ḍa*, S. *ḍoṇḍo* "with very small horns, bent backwards" from *ḍa-ḍa* "to shave, cut off", Skr. *muṇḍin-* "hornless" : S. *muṇḍṛa ḍaṅgra* "a hornless bullock", *muṇḍṛa* "having his hair cropped or shaved", *moṇḍgoc'* "bare, hornless, polled, to shave or cut off" from *wa-ḍa*. Cf. also the various meanings of Engl. *to poll* ("to crop the hair, cut off the top, cut off horns").

Kui *ṭupa* "short, dwarfish", *ṭupri* "short", *ṭupura* "a short man or boy" are clearly Munda loanwords (cf. M. *ṭupā*, S. *thopro*). See further s.v. *ḍimbha-*.

41. *daṇḍá-*, m. "stick, staff, pole, cudgel, mace".

1. Since ṚS. 7, 33, 6 *daṇḍā́ ivéd goájanāsa āsan párichinnā bharatā́ arbhakā́saḥ* "Wie Stecken, mit denen man Ochsen treibt, lagen gebrochen

[99]) For similar younger borrowings in NIA. beside those dating back to the Old Indian period, see s.v. *kubhrá-* and cf., e.g., Nep. *tumbo* "gourd" (which cannot be derived from Skr. *tumba-*).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

die armen Bharatas" (Hillebrandt). Apart from the metaphorical use of *daṇḍá-* in the sense of "flag-staff, handle", it also denotes the stalk or stem of a plant (*kadalīdaṇḍa-*, *ikṣudaṇḍa-*, since the Mhbh., see Pet. Dict.). As such it is comparable with *dala-*, n., in *veṇudala-* "a bamboo stick" (Manu 8, 299).

Since Schmidt's connexion with Greek *δένδρον*, *δένδρεον* (on the last word see Stanislaw Szober, Belic'ev Zbornik 347 ff.) encounters serious difficulties (see Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, 171, Thumb–Hirt, Handb. des Sanskrit, 91), most authorities now accept the etymology proposed by Lidén, Studien zur altind. und vergl. Sprachgesch. 80 ff., who derives *daṇḍá-* from **dol-ndo-* or **del-ndo-* (cf. *dalati* "bursts, splits"), see e.g. Petersson, Studien zu Fortunatovs Regel 52, 55, Lüders, Philologia Indica 554. It should however be observed that the IE. suffix *-ndo-* is extremely rare (see my remark in "Die indogermanischen Nasalpräsentia" p. 193, n. 3): *aṇḍá-* [100]), *piṇḍa-*, *khaṇḍá-*, *pāṇḍú-*, and *muṇḍa-* are in my opinion Proto-Munda words, whereas *gaṇḍa-* (*galla-*) "cheek" (see Kittel, Kannada Dict. XV n. 2, XVIII, and cf. Kui *gaḍa*) and *kuṇḍá-*, n., "jar, pitcher" (see BSOS. 9, 991) are of Dravidian origin. It would not be surprising, therefore, if *daṇḍá-* would turn out to be a borrowing from a non-Aryan language, and a direct proof of its foreign origin is furnished by Skr. lex. *taṇḍaka-*, m.n. "post, pillar of a house" (Hemac., Med., Trik.), m. "trunk of a tree" (Hemac., Med.), and *raṇḍaka-*, m. "barren tree" (S'abdacandrikā).

As a matter of fact, Santali has, by the side of some Aryan loanwords as *ḍāṇḍ* "fine, mulct, channel, ditch", *ḍaṇḍọm* "fine, mulct, handle, shaft" the following words: *ḍaṇṭa* "a thick stick, a club" (Campbell; cf. M. *ḍāṇṭā* = *ḍāṇḍā* "a stick"), *ḍaṭi*, *ḍaṇṭit'*, *ḍaṇḍit'*, *ḍaṇḍic'* "stem (of mushrooms, palm-leaves, etc.)", *ḍaṇḍit'* "stick, staff, handle, etc.", *ḍaṭhi* "the petioles and midribs of a compound leaf after the leaflets have been plucked off; stalks of certain plants, as Indian corn, after the grain has been taken off". Similar forms are found in Aryan, e.g. Hi. *ḍā̃ṭ*, *ḍā̃ṭh*, *ḍā̃ṭhal*, *ḍā̃ṭhī* "pedicle, petiole, foot-stalk, stem, stalk, culm, straw, stubble", *ḍaṭhā*, *ḍāṭhā* "stalk", Nep. *ḍā̃ṭh* "stalk, stem, stock" (unexplained, see Turner s.v.), Beng. *ḍā̃ṭā* "stalk", *ḍā̃ṭī* "pestle, little stick" (according to Chatterji 492 from *daṇḍikā-* "through unvoicing of *ḍ*"). Particularly interesting is S. *ḍaṇḍi* 1) stick, staff, handle, rod, shaft, balance-arm" (= Hi. *ḍāḍī*); 2) "bare stem, stalk". Bodding regards them as two different words. The second word must in any case be a native Munda word on account of its close resemblance to *ḍẹṇḍẹ* "with short or no tail (birds), dressed in rags (women); to pull out the tail feathers", *ḍẹṇḍkẹ*, *ḍẹṇḍkẹt'* "bare, ragged, with few feathers" (*ḍẹṇḍea*, *ḍheṇḍea*, *ḍeṇḍka*, *ḍheṇḍka*, id.), *ḍheṇḍra* "bare, having scanty hair or few branches", M. *ḍẹṇḍe* "tailless, hairless, leafless". The same application of *ḍa-ḍa* "to shave" to plants is found in

---

[100]) Cf. *kuraṇḍa-* "swollen testicles", and perhaps S. *ẹṇḍ* "penis", So. *adre* "egg".

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra.ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

ḍuṇḍgạ, ḍuṇḍgạr "short-haired, bare, shaven, with branches cut off, to cut short, bare", *ṭhaṇḍga* "having one's hair cut short, having branches cut off, to cut hair short, to cut or break off branches", *ṭhuṇḍgạ, ṭhuṇḍgạr, ṭhuṇḍgut'* "bare, without hair or branches, without horns". In other derivatives the sense has developed to "poor, insufficient", as in *ḍhaṇḍkao* "to be stripped (like a stalk), destitute, poverty-stricken, needy, utterly, poor", *halẹ ḍalẹ* "destitute, forlorn, straitened, shelterless, to be in want" (in the local Aryan dial. *ḍāle khāle*), *ṭoṇṭa* "scarce, insufficient, to deal out stingily, to be in want of, to lack", *laṇḍha phuciạ* "destitute, who has no property" (: *laṇḍha* "stubble, left after reaping, of cultivated cereals, etc., utterly poor") [101]). Note the parallel formations with the meaning "bare, shaven, short-haired, without branches or feathers" from *ḍa-ḍa* and *ma-ḍa* (see s.v. *baṇḍá-*), as *ḍuṇḍạ* (*muṇḍhạ*), *ḍuṇḍgạ* (*muṇḍgạ*), *ḍuṇḍgut'* (*muṇḍgut'*), *ḍuṇḍlạ* (*muṇḍlạ*), *ḍuṇḍrạ* (*muṇḍrạ*) and cf. Hi. *luṇḍ-muṇḍ*. These instances leave no doubt as to the native Munda character of S. *ḍaṇḍi* "bare stem, stalk". Thus the question arises, whether S. *ḍaṇḍi* "stick, staff, etc.", although possibly a borrowing from Aryan (cf. Hi. *ḍāḍī*), may be originally identical with this word. Hi. *ḍāḍī* and Skr. *daṇḍá-* probably represent two separate borrowings from Munda and Proto-Munda: in view of the general tendency to explain the cerebrals in Prakrit and New Indo-Aryan as results of a later development [102]) it should be noted that the modern vernaculars often reflect more faithfully the Munda original than the corresponding Sanskrit word, just as late Sanskrit admits more freely foreign phonemes than the Vedic language does (because classical Sanskrit reflects other social strata and another form of society than Vedic) [103]). Thus the question narrows down to this: was the original meaning of Skr. *daṇḍá-* "stem stripped of leaves"? Several parallel instances show a similar semantic development, e.g.:

IE. **lorgā-, *lorgi-* "stick, cudgel" : **lerg-* "to be smooth", see Walde–Pokorny II, 443.

S. *muṇḍha, muṇḍhak', muṇḍhat'* "a log, block" : *muṇḍrạ* "branchless". Cf. Skr. *muṇḍaka-* "tree-trunk, beam" ("ein der Äste beraubter Baum", Pet. D.). From the same root is derived S. *buṭạ* "the trunk of a tree up to where the branches begin" (see p. 65, n. 89; p. 98).

S. *muṅret'* "log" : *paṅgao* "to lop"; K. *boṅga* "club ~ naked" (cf. p. 49).

S. *ḍaṅ* "staff, pole, rod, perch (of bamboo or wood)" [= Hi. *ḍā̃g*] : *ḍegra* "small, stunted", *ḍeṅga ḍaṅguạ* "who have no children", etc. (see further p. 140).

---

101) Cf. Hi. *luṇḍā, luṇḍ-muṇḍ, laṇḍūrā* "tailless, stripped of branches and leaves": *laṭnā* "to become poor" (see p. 80).

102) Thus J. Bloch, L'Indo Aryen 58, quotes Nep. *ḍā̃ro* "beam, rafter": Skr. *daṇḍá-* as an instance of assimilation of initial *d* to the cerebral.

103) Cf. p. 43 (Hi. *kubaṛ* : Skr. *kubhra-*), p. 100 (Hi. *poṭā* : Skr. *pota-*), p. 147 (Hi. *pūṭh* : Skr. *puta-*), p. 24 (Class. Skr. *uḍumbara-* : Ved. *udumbára-*) and p. 32.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Skr. lex. *gaṇḍi-* "der Stamm eines Baumes von der Wurzel bis zum Anfang der Äste" : *ga-ḍa* "bare, bald" (cf. pp. 40 ff., 49 f., 51 f. 112 and Tel. *gaḍḍi*, Pa. *ghaṭikā-*). We may conclude, accordingly, that *daṇḍá-* originally denoted the branchless part of the stem of a tree, and, secondly, a stick, stalk or leafless branch. As stated above, many of the modern Aryan equivalents are not descended from the Sanskrit word but have been borrowed at a later date direct from Munda, e.g. Nep. *ḍaũṭhe, ḍāũṭhe* "stalky, rough, a leafless stalk, a useless person" (which Turner rightly connects with *ḍãṭh* "stalk"; in modern Munda **ḍaõṭhe* may stand for **ḍanṭhe*, or else we have to assume the normal vowel variation). Cf. also Panj. *ḍõḍrū* "leafless". — Proto-Munda prefixes are possibly contained in Pkt. *pedaṇḍa-* "rogue" (e.g. Mṛcch. 57, 5 and 59, 7 ed. Parab) and *kodaṇḍa-* "bow". P. Thieme derives *pedaṇḍa-* from *pretāṇḍa-* "eunuch", whereas S. M. Katre, Ann. BORS. 20, 290, hazards the suggestion that *pe-* = Pers. *bē*. It seems to be an obscene abuse: the commentator renders *luptadaṇḍakaḥ*. Perhaps *-ḍaṇḍa-* here = *śaṇḍha-* "impotent" (p. 80). Like *po-* in *pogaṇḍa-* (p. 50), *pe-* is prob. a Proto-Munda prefix (cf. *pelava-*). The semantic development of *kodaṇḍa-* cannot be traced, but since *ko-* is a common Proto-Munda prefix (cf. Pa. Pkt. *ko-lamba-*, p. 26), it is probably connected with *daṇḍá-*. Wackernagel's explanation (Altind. Gramm. II, 1, 84) is to be rejected.

2. Like *ga-ḍa, wa-ḍa*, and other synonymous roots, *ḍa-ḍa* is used in two ways, its derivatives denoting 1) that which is stunted, short, maimed, blunt, small, young, insignificant, and 2) that which is shaved, bare, stripped, leafless, poor, unmarried, barren. The two semantic groups are not, of course, marked off by a sharp dividing-line. Since instances of the first sub-group will be discussed s.v. *śuṇṭhá-*, we shall here confine ourselves to a brief survey of the second group. The striking parallelism to the semantic development of *ḍa-ga* (see s.v. *jāṅgala-*) should be noted.

1) "bare, bald": S. *ḍuṇḍi, ḍuṇḍge, ṭhuṇḍguṭ'*, etc. "bald", *caḍra* (f. *caḍri*), *ceḍe, ceḍge, ceḍre, ceḍreč'* "bare, bald" (*ceḍreč'* means also "dwarfish", cf. *ceḍre, catrap'* "blunt" from the 1st sub-class); *ceṇḍeṇ'* "bare, without grass", M. Kh. *cāṛrā*, Ho *cere* "bald". — Cf. Skr. lex. *caṇḍila-*, m. "barber" (Hemac., Halāy., Abhidhānar. 2, 434) [104]), Pkt. *candila-* "*nāpitaḥ*" (Deśīn. 3, 2), Dardic kal. *lāṇḍra* "bald", Shina *laṭa* "bare-headed", etc.

2) "to bare a jungle": S. *ṭaṇḍi* "bare, a plain, an open field, meadow", *ṭoṇḍaṅ* "high ground, dry land, dry and barren", M. *tõṛaṅ* "jungle", *tonāṅ-rāj* "forest-country", M. *ḍãṛ, ṭãṛ* "upland", S. *jara* "to clear land by cutting down trees and brushwood and thereupon setting fire to the place" (contamination with *jar-*, e.g. *jeṛeṭ'* "to burn, set fire to"), etc. — Cf. Skr. lex. *jhāṭa-*, m.n. "forest", *jhaṣa-*, m. "a forest grown with grass, bare

[104]) Ho *caṅdel* is perhaps a blending of **caṇḍel* and the root discussed s.v. *jāṅgala-* (p. 140 ff.); cf. also S. *ceṃḍeṅ* (= *ceṇḍeṅ*) "bare".

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

land, desert" (cf. *jāṅgala-* and S. *muṇḍu* "jungle, bush, forest, copse" : *muṇḍṛạ* "to shave the hair"), Hi. *ḍā̃ḍ* "high land not culturable for lack of water, sterile land", Gondi (Hoshangabad) *jāṛī* "jungle".

3) "to strip off, to pare, to chip": K. *danda* "rubbish, small pieces of wood", S. *ḍulạ ḍuli, ḍulạu* "to cut off, to lop, pare off", *dolkao* "to peel off, scale off", *jhaṛao* "to pare. chip", *jhaṛgao* "to strip off", *chalkao* "to chip, cut off a little, clip, shave off, pare off", *chulkạu*, id. (possibly blendings of *ḍa-ḍa* and *ḍa-ga*), K. *cilpa* "splinter of wood or chip", etc. — Cf. Panj. *ḍōḍrū* "leafless", Skr. lex. *raṇḍaka-*, id. (according to Turner s.v. *rā̃ṛo*; *aphalataruḥ* S'KDr.); Hi. *chaṭnā* "to be lopped, pared, pruned", *chā̃ṭnā* "to clip, pare, lop"; Skr. lex. *challĭ-*, f. "bark", Pa. *challi-* "bark, bast", Pkt. *challī-* "skin, bark", Hi. *chāl, chālā* : Si. *chila*, id., etc. The IE. derivation proposed by Turner (s.v. *chālā*) is accordingly to be rejected, cf. Hi. *chīlnā* "to skin, excoriate, peel, pare, bark", Nep. *chilnu* "to peel", etc. ~ Pkt. *chollai* "skins", Hi. *cholnā* "to lop, skin, peel, pare", Beng. *chol* "rind" (see Turner s.v. *cholnu*) ~ Hi. *chilkā* "skin, bark, rind, shell, scale" (see Turner s.v. *chilko*), with which Skr. *śálka-*, m.n. "chip" (since Taitt. S., Kāṭh. S.), n., "scale of a fish" (Vāsav.), "rind, bark" (lex.) and *śalla-, śallaka-*, n. "bark" (lex.) are clearly identical. Skr. *śílpa-*, n. "decoration, ornament, art, craft" must have a different origin on account of *śílpá-* "many-coloured, variegated" (Maitr. S.). As for *śalākā̆-* "chip, splinter, stalk, rod", see Gonda, Acta Orient. 10, 332 ff., Kuiper, ibid. 17, 18, n. 1; *taṇḍulá-*, m. "husked rice" is ambiguous, but cf. *túṣa-* "husk" (see s.v. *baṇḍá-*).

4) "stem stripped of leaves" > "stalk, rod, shaft, staff, arrow": S. *ḍaṇṭa* "thick stick", *ṭaṭhẹ* "to beat with a stick" [105]) (cf. Tam. *taṭi* "stick, staff, rod, cane" = *taṇṭu, taṇṭam*, id.; *taṛi* "to lop, chop off", Kann. *daḍi, taḍi* "staff, cudgel", *daṇṭu* "stalk", etc.), *ḍọl* "shaft of an arrow", *jhaṭa* "stake, branch, pole", M. *soṭā* "stick", etc. — Cf. Skr. *daṇḍá-*, Nep. *ḍā̃ṭh* "stalk, stem", *ḍā̃ṛi* "pole, staff", etc., *tāndro* "a dry stalk or straw (esp. of rice)", Panj. *ṭā̃ḍā, ṭā̃ḍhā* "dry stalk of *bājrā*", Lhd. *ṭāṇḍā*, id. Skr. *dūla-* "arrow" may be inferred from *dūlāsa-*, m. "bow", which is only recorded in Wilson's dictionary (1819) and in the Jaffna Dictionary of Tamil (1842). Böhtlingk strongly doubts the correctness of Wilson's statement, but *dūla-* may perhaps be a *deśī* word on account of S. *ḍọl* "shaft of an arrow" (cf. Kui *ḍūṛā* "stick, staff, rod", Tam. *tūlam*, Tel. *dūlamu*, Kann. *dūla* "beam of a house", Hi. *ṭhūṭhī* "small stump, stalk" : *ṭhūṭhā* "reduced to a stump, having the hand amputated, having its branches lopped, leafless"). Cf. further Beng. *naṛī* "stick" (Chatterji 530; from **laḍī*?), Nep. *jhaṭāro* "a small stick, piece of wood; small log to throw at trees in order to bring dow fruit down" (~ Or. *jhaṭā* "dead bough"), Hi. *chaṛ* "shaft, pole, staff, stem, stalk, stubble" (~ Nep. *chaṛ* "bar", *chaṛi* "stick, rod, walking-stick", Mar. *saḍ, saḍī* "stubble, stalk, splinter"), *caṇḍwā* "shaft

[105]) Cf. Hi. *ṭhaṭhānā* "to strike, beat".

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

of a plough-share"; Nep. *sõṭhā* "cane" (Kum. *soṭo*, Panj. *soṭhā, soṭṭā*, id., Beng. *sõṭā*, Guj. *soṭo* "staff"). Although Hi. *lāṭh* "stick" (< **laṣṭi-*, see Turner s.v. *lāṭho*) is prob. related, its formation is not clear (cf. Skr. *yaṣṭi-*, m., id.).

Skr. *daṇḍa-, daṇḍaka-*, m. also denote a "flagstaff on a chariot". The modern equivalent (Hi. *jhaṇḍā* "flagstaff", Mar. *jhēḍā* "standard, flag", etc.) is usually derived from **dhvajadaṇḍa-* (thus Turner s.v. *jhaṇḍā*) or from *jayanta-*. Chatterji 479 however proposes to connect it with *jhāṛ* "tree". Although M. *jhāṇḍā* "pole with a flag attached to it", S. *jhaṇḍa* "flag, standard, to put up a pole with a flag" may be reborrowings from Aryan, the Aryan word itself is clearly a dialectal Munda variant of *daṇḍa-*. Cf. S. *jhaṭa* "pole" (perh. Kann. *dhāla, ḍhāla* "a large flag"?) and Skr. *ruṇḍa-* "staff of a balance" (Vāsav., see Gray, p. 211 of his edition).

5) "bare" > "poor": S. *ḍhaṇḍkao* "to be stripped, destitute, poverty-stricken, utterly poor", *haḷe ḍaḷe* "destitute, forlorn, shelterless, to be in want", *ṭoṇṭa* "scarce, insufficient", *laṇḍha phuciạ* "destitute, who has no property", *laṛ baṛea* "poor" (p. 98), *nandan* "poor", M. *nāndān* "poor, weak, powerless" (see pp. 81, 152). — Cf. Pkt. *ḍhella-, ṭhalla-* "poor" (Deśīn. 4, 16.5) [106]), Nep. *ṭāṭ* "reduced to penury" (Guj. *nāgo ṭāṭ* "stark naked"!), Hi. *laṭnā* "to become poor".

6) "bare" > "having no husband or wife (= unmarried, widow), having no children (= barren), or parents (= orphan)": S. *ṭhāṭ* "barren, childless", M. *ṭāṇṭi* "barren, past the age of breeding", *ḍiṇḍā* "spinster, virgin, unmarried, barren, bachelor", Ho *ḍiṇḍā* "unmarried", Kh. *diṇḍā* "virgin" (: S. *ḍeṇḍe* "tailless, half naked", *haḷe ḍaḷe* "shelterless"); S. *narca* "unfertile, barren" (see below). — Cf. Skr. lex. *śaṇṭha-* "unmarried (*akṛtadāraḥ* Ujjvalad.)", *ṣaṇḍha-* (*śaṇḍha-, ṣaṇḍa-*) "impotent, eunuch" and its variant *caṇḍa-* "circumcised, having no prepuce" (Hi. *ṭhūṭhā*, id.); *raṇḍā-* "widow, slut" is fem. of *raṇḍa-* "with the skin half separated from the limbs", see Tedesco, JAOS. 65, 94. Tedesco holds the original sense to have been "a shorn one" and quotes several parallel instances (note also Kann. *bōḷi* "a head-shaven woman, a widow"). The meaning "widow", however, may also have developed from "bereft, solitary", cf. Nep. *luṭho* "a loose-living bachelor", Panj. *laṇḍā, luṇḍā* "tailless, without leaves, without wife and children", Skr. *vaṇṭa-* "tailless, unmarried (man)", Tam. *moṭṭai* "shaven head, unmarried young man", Kshm. *laṇḍur* "wifeless" (: Hi. *laṇḍūrā* "tailless"), Hi. *rāṛā* "barren, unproductive, a widower", Nep. *rāṛo* "widower" (: Beng. *rāṛā* "sterile, leafless") over against *rāṛ, rāṛi* "widow". Skr. lex. *lañjikā-* "whore" (*lañjā-* "adulteress") may be the same word (cf. Kum. *rānī*, id.), and *laṭaka-, laṭṭa-, laḍḍa-* "a bad man" are paralleled by Lhd. *luṇḍā* "of bad character", Panj. *luṇḍā* "a shameless character", etc. (Tedesco 94a). Cf. Skr. lex. *śuṇḍā-*, f. "whore".

Nep. *thāro* "barren, sterile, unproductive (plants, land"), which cannot

---

[106]) Turner's suggestion (s.v. *ḍhilo*) is accordingly to be rejected.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

be derived from Skr. *starī-* "barren cow" on account of ā (Turner s.v.), is rather connected with S. *ṭhāṭ* (see above). Particularly interesting are Bashkarik *šōrúṇḍ* (f. *šōríṇḍ*), Palola *šōruṇḍo* "orphan", which contain a prefix *šō-* (see p. 119) ~ Bashk. *riṇḍ* "widow".

7) "solitary" (cf. S. *ṭhaṭkaṭ ṭhuṭkuṭ* "left alone"): Hi. *chaṛā* "separated, solitary, alone" is identical with M. *cāṛṛā* "bald, baldness". Cf. further Ass. *luṭhuṅ-ṭhuṅgīyā* "destitute, homeless" (p. 141). Prob. Hi. *chuṭṭā* "separate, single, bare" (Nep. *chuṭṭo* "separated, divided, alone" : *chuṭnu* "to get loose, to part from", Skr. lex. *choṭayati* "cuts") also belongs to this word-group. Cf. Pa. *chaḍḍeti* "to abandon, leave" (hardly < *tyakta-*, Tedesco p. 97) and the rhyme-words Nep. *phuṭṭa*, *phuṭṭo* (p. 100).

A great many NIA. forms with initial *r* and *l* are quoted by Tedesco, p. 94 f. They should be connected with Hi. *ḍũḍā* "bullock with one horn", Panj. *ḍōḍrū* "leafless" (see Turner s.v. *ḍūṛo* "maimed"), Nep. *ṭhuṭo* "polled, hairless, hornless" (also "stump of a tree" = Kh. *dhuṭu*), etc.

3. There are several derivatives from *ḍa-ḍa* with initial nasal, some of which have already been mentioned above. Cf. S. *nandan* "impoverished, destitute", Beng. *naṛī* "stick" (unless from **laḍī*), Middle Beng. *nāṛā*, *nāṛhā*, mod. Beng. *neṛā* "shaven-head" (Chatterji 498, 530), Nep. *nāṭho*, Kum. *nāṭo* "bachelor" (see above, sub 6); closely related, though belonging to the other semantic sub-group: Hi. *nāṭā* "short, dwarfish, dwarf, young bull (not yet broken in), vile, depraved" (cf. M. *nāṭā* "dwarf"), *naṭiyā* "a short or diminutive man, a bullock of an inferior stock"; cf. Beng. *nāṭuyā* "profligate", Mar. *nāṭhā* "vile" [107]), perh. also Nep. *nacci* "a short but good-looking young woman", (cf. Beng. *nannā* "small, tiny") and Pkt. *ṇandaṇa-*, m. "servant" (*bhṛtyaḥ* Deśīn. 4, 19) < "*boy" (pp. 99, 152). Hence *ṇanda-*, n. "*ikṣunipīḍanakāṇḍam*" (Deśīn. 4, 45) may be a variant of *daṇḍa-*, although this is merely conjectural. Since the Mhbh. *nārāca-*, m. is used in Sanskrit as a term for a certain kind of arrow. Uhlenbeck proposed to connect it with *naḍá-*, m. "reed". This suggestion was however rejected by Lüders, Philologia Indica 555, because *ḍ* never becomes *r* in Sanskrit. Since *ḍ* > *ṛ*(*r*) is a very common sound-change in Proto-Munda, the question arises whether *nārāca-* may have been adopted from that source. In the Santali dialect studied by Campbell there occurs a word *narca* "unfertile, exhausted (soil), barren, past the age of breeding (cow)", a rhyme-word of *marca* "bare, physically poor, deteriorated, pune, exhausted" (M. *mārcā* "fallow"). *Narca* may stand for **naṛ-aca*, a derivative from **naṛa* (cf. Hi. *nāṛā* "stubble"), just as *marca* is derived from *wa-ḍa* (p. 104 f.); as for *-aca-*, see pp. 118, 138. Hi. *nāṛā* is synonymous with *chaṛ* "stubble", and S. *narca* with M. *ṭāṇṭi* (*vide sub* 4 and 6); since initial *n* and *m* are mostly the nasalized variants of *d*/*t* and *w*/*b*/*p*, *nāṛā* and *ṇarca* must also belong to *ḍa-ḍa*. Skr. *nārāca-* may accordingly be

[107]) These words should accordingly be separated from the descendants of Skr. *naṣṭa-* and *naṭa-* (Turner s.v.v. *nāṭho* and *naṭuwā*).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

derived, together with S. *narca*, from *ḍa-ḍa* "bare, stalk, shaft of an arrow" (see above, *sub* 4). Does the same hold good for *naḍá-*, m. "a species of reed", with which Uhlenbeck connected it?

Naḍá- is attested since the ṚS. (*naḷáḥ* 8, 1, 33) and is the common form in the Vedic literature, whereas the Classical works (since the Mhbh.) use *nala-* instead; see Lüders, Philologia Indica 555. A variant with *d* seems to occur in ṚS. 1, 32, 8 *nadáṁ ná bhinnám*, which is now generally translated "like a broken reed" (Pischel, Ved. Stud. 1, 183 ff., Oldenberg [108]), Geldner, Macdonell, Renou), cf. *naḍáṁ ... bhindánty áśmanā* Ath. S. 6, 138, 5. The adjectives *naḍvánt-* and *naḍvalá-* (Pāṇini and later works) contain a shorter form *naḍ-*. Cf. further *nāḍī-* "tube, pipe, flute, vein, pulse" (since Ath. S., Kāṭh. S., S'at. Br.), *nāḍi-* "vein, artery, any tubular organ of the body", *nāla-*, n., "a hollow stalk, esp. of the lotus, pipe, tube, handle". As for *nalina-*, cf. *malina-* from *mala-*.

If the interpretation of Rigvedic *nadá-* is correct, it is only reasonable to suppose that it is identical with *naḍá-*. This was, indeed, the opinion of Ludwig and Pischel, but Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, 173, considered their identity doubtful and the modern works on IE. etymology derive *naḍá-* from IE. **nardo-*, **nardho-* (mod. Persian *nāl* "reed, stalk", Pashto *nāṛa* "stalk of a flower", Greek *νάρθηξ*) and keep it apart from *nadá-*, which is connected with mod. Persian *nai* "reed", Lith. *néndrė*, id. (IE. **nedo-*). See W. Geiger, Etymologie und Lautlehre des Afghānischen 17 (183), Persson, Beiträge zur idg. Wortforschung 338, 817, n., Walde–Pokorny, Vergl. Wörterb. der idg. Sprachen II, 317 f., 329. The problematical and (from the standpoint of Sanskrit) arbitrary character of this explanation is clear. Variants of the same word with dental and cerebral are not uncommon in Sanskrit (see Wackernagel, l.c.). According to the general view the cerebral must be due to a later phonetic change, parallel to the Prakrit development. It has however been pointed out above (s. vv. *udumbára-* and *kubja-*) that in many Proto-Munda loanwords the cerebral is the original sound, the dental in the Vedic equivalent being due to a tendency of the Vedic language to avoid the cerebral (which was considered a characteristic of the vulgar speech) and to substitute the dental for it. If we should apply the same explanation to *nadá-* : *naḍá-* we should have to conclude that the form with *ḍ* was already used in common speech to such an extent that the tendency to substitute *d* was unable to assert itself. This would imply, however, that *naḍá-* is a foreign word like *udumbára-*. As a matter of fact, for a word for "reed" this assumption would be far from improbable, the more so since **nardo-*/**nardho-* (Walde–Pokorny, II, 317) does not look like a genuine IE. word. (I do not enter into a discussion of Skr. *nalada-* which Horn, Grundr. der neupersischen Etym. 237, explains as a Sanskritization of Greek *νάρδος*, whereas others derive Aram. *nardā* from Sanskrit, *νάρδος* being a borrowing from Aramaic; Lüders separates *nalada-* from *naḍa-*).

[108]) But see also his note on 1, 179, 4.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Among the many Hindi words of Aryan derivation (*naṛ, naṛlā, nāṛ, nāṛā, nāṛī, nāl, nālā, nālī*, etc.) we also meet with some variants with *r*, as *narī, narrī* (also dial. *naṛṛā, naṛaṛā, naṛṛī, naṛaṛī*) "windpipe, gullet, throat", which remind of S. *naṇḍri, naṛṛi*, id. Notwithstanding the metaphoric sense of the last words it does not appear that they are borrowings from Aryan (as is the case with S. *naṛi* "pulse"). The nasalization in *naṇḍri*, it is true, can be due to a quite recent development (such a nasalization occurs even in English loanwords), but *naṛṛi* shows the normal Munda change of *ṛr* to *ṛṛ* and presupposes a Munda original **naḍri*. It is not clear how this form could have been borrowed from Aryan.

On the other hand, many of the NIA. words which are usually connected with Skr. *naḍá-* are used in senses which clearly betray their derivation from *ḍa-ḍa*, cf. Ass. *narā* "stubble" (: *nal* "stalk") [109], Kshm. *nal* "stalk" (: *nar*^{i} "reed"), Hi. *nal* "bamboo-joint", Mar. *naḍṇē* "to clear a field of stubble", *naḷ* "lotus-stalk", Or. *naṛā* "rice-straw". See Turner s.v. *nal*. These words point to an original meaning "bare, leafless" (see above, sub 4 and 2), from which also the meaning "reed" may have developed.

Perhaps Skr. *mṛṇāla-*, n. "lotus-root or fibre" (since Mhbh., Rām.) can furnish the definite proof of the Proto-Munda origin of *naḍá-*. Pali has *muḷāla-, muḷālī-* "stalk of a lotus", which Geiger § 43 regards as the Middle Indian equivalent of *mṛṇāla-*. The evidence for the change *ṇ* > *ḷ* is however extremely slight (as for *veḷu-*, see p. 34); on the other hand, Vedic *mulālí-*, f. (or *mulālin-*?) "edible root of lotus" is evidently the same word (PTS. Dict., Tarapada Chowdhury, JBROS. 17, 1931, 46). If so, we have probably to do with two Proto-Munda variants **měr-nala* and **mu-ḍala*. It should be noted that in some Dardic dialects there occurs a word for "root", which seems to be closely related, e.g. Bashkarik *nēr*, Palola *nāṛī*, Gawar Bati *nāṛ*. We may accordingly conclude with a reasonable degree of certainty that *naḍá-* is a nasalized variant of *daṇḍá-* and consequently of Proto-Munda origin.

42. *dāḍima-*, m. "the pomegranate tree" (n. its fruit).

Since Mhbh., Rām., Suśr. Also *dālima-* (Amaruś., cf. Pa. *dālima-*). *dāḍimba-* (Trik., comm. of Maheśvara on Amara 2, 4, 64), cf. Hi. *ḍāṛim, ḍālim* [110]). Lüders, Philologia Indica 556, regards *dāḍima-* as a Prakrit word and derives it from Pkt. *dāḍhā-* (Pa. *dāṭhā-*) "tooth", the original form having been **dāḍhimant-*. This explanation would be plausible but for the variant *dāḍimba-* (cf. Or. *dāṛimba, ḍāḷimba*, Hi. *dāṛimb*, Mar. *dāḷiṃb*), which this theory fails to account for. Bagchi, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, Introd. p. XXVIII, suggested an Austro-Asiatic derivation, which however is unacceptable (Malay *buah* "fruit").

---

[109]) See above on Hi. *nāṛā* "stubble" : Skr. *nārāca-*.

[110]) For loanwords in Indonesian see Lafeber, Vergelijkende Klankleer van het Niasisch I, 96, who also points to Hebrew *rimmon*, Coptic *erman*, etc.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

The pomegranate, whose many seeds so strongly suggest the idea of fertility is usually denoted by names meaning "round, protuberant, pregnant", e.g. Skr. lex. *piṇḍīra-*, n. (Trik.), Pkt. *piṇḍīraṁ "dāḍimam"* (Deśīn. 6, 48) : Skr. *piṇḍa-* "a round mass, lump, globe, ball, knob", *piṇḍikā-* "a round swelling or protuberance", and Tam. *kaḷu-muḷ* from *kaḷu-* "to crowd, be full, be abundant". Note that the Tam. word also denotes the Cardamom-plant (= Skr. *bahulā-*!). As for *dāḍima-*, *dāḍimba-*, its radical element is *ḍimb-*, cf. *ḍimba-*, m. "egg", lex. *go-ḍimba-*, *go-ḍumba-* "water melon", *goḍumbā-*, f. "Cucumis maderaspatanus, colocynth" (comm. on Caraka), lex. *kurumba-* "a certain kind of orange". See pp. 24, 66, cf. Kh. *ḍimbu* "cucumis", *tumbāi* "pumpkin", Ho *ḍambau* "custard apple".

Another derivative from the same root is Skr. *jambīra-*, m. "citron tree" (n. its fruit), Suśr., Bhāg. Pur. The lexicographers record many variants, e.g. *jambhīra-*, *jambhara-*, *jambhala-*, *jambha-*, *jambhin-* (the last of which is due to popular etymology); see Turner s.v. *jimir*. It owes this name to its roundish shape (cf. Ho *simri* "bean") and, probably, to its "fertility" (cf. the synonyms *bījapūra-*, *phalapūra-*). A synonym of *jambīra-* is Skr. lex. *nimbū-*, *nimbūka-*, m. "citron tree" (Rājanighaṇṭu), cf. *nimbūkaphala-pānaka-*, n. "lemonade" (Bhāvaprakāśa). The origin of this plant has been amply discussed by several American scholars to whose articles I may refer for particulars and bibliography [111]). H. W. Glidden presumes its original habitat to have been the Eastern Himalaya (p. 393), accordingly an ancient Austro-Asiatic area, but does not hazard to explain its name (p. 396). As the plant and its name have spread over a vast area it is hardly possible to trace the origin of the name and to elucidate the relations between the variants found in India and Indonesia, e.g. 1) Hi. *nībū*, Or. *nembu*, Panj. *nimbū*, Mar. *nībū*, Nep. *nību* 2) Nep. *nibu*, *nibuwā*, Beng. *nebu* 3) Nep. Kum. *nimuwā*, Ass. *nemu*, Hi. *nīmū*, *līmū* (see Turner s.v. *nibu*); cf. S. *lẹmbọ*, M. *lembu* (So. *lémbāū-* is a loanword according to Ramamurti, Engl. Sora Dictionary). Whatever may be the origin of Malay *limau*, Jav. *limo*, the Austro-Asiatic character of *nibu-/nimbu-/nimu-* is clear and there can be little doubt that these forms are nasalized variants of *ḍib-/ḍimb-* [112]). Cf. lex. *limpāka-*, m., id.

Skr. *jambū-*, f. "rose apple tree, Eugenia Jambolana" (since Mhbh.) is apparently a derivative from the same root.

43. *dundubhi-*, m. "drum" [113]).

Since the ṚS., in common use throughout the Sanskrit literature. As it

---

[111]) See Laufer, The Lemon in China and Elsewhere (JAOS. 54, 1934, 143—160), Miss Helen M. Johnson, The Lemon in India (ibid. 56, 1936, 47—50), H. W. Glidden, The Lemon in Asia and Europe (ibid. 57, 1937, 381—396).

[112]) The derivation of *nimba-*, name of the Azadirachta Indica (Hi. *nīm*) is unknown. The explanation proposed by Johansson, Etymologie und Wortgeschichte 34, Charpentier, ZDMG. 73, 140 ff. (<'*ni-āmra-*) is hardly correct.

[113]) Also *dundubhī-*, e.g. *dundubhyaś ca mahāsvanāḥ*, Mhbh. 7, 82, 4 Bomb.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

looks like an onomatopoea (Uhlenbeck, Wackernagel II, 1, 9), its etymology has not been the object of discussion. The shorter form *dundu-* recorded by the S'abdaratnāvalī suggests a formation *dundu-bhi-*. The following words, however, will show that the radical element of *dundubhi-* is *dubh-*. The shorter form must accordingly be due to an incorrect analysis of the word by late lexicographers, parallel instances of which are given elsewhere (see s. vv. *khiṅkira-*, *mukura-*, etc.).

Dunduma- is not attested but its existence may be inferred from *dundubher dundumāyitam*, Uttararām. 6, 2 (not recorded in the Pet. Dictionaries and Schmidt, Nachträge); cf. *dundama-* (S'abdaratnāvalī). *-dum-* is the nasalized variant of *-dubh-*.

Diṇḍima-, m.n. "a kind of drum" (Mhbh., Rām., Hariv., Mṛcch., Hitop., Vikramāṅkad. *jayaḍiṇḍima-* 6, 11; 8, 15, etc.). In Rām. 5, 10, 44 it is mentioned as different from *āḍambara-* (in 45); likewise Mhbh. 9, 46, 58. As the *ḍiṇḍima-* is beaten on the occasion of proclamations (Mṛcch Parab 254, 2; 259, 2; 267, 8 etc., *udghoṣaḍiṇḍima-* Kathās. 91, 23) [114]) it is sometimes considered a synonym of *ghoṣaṇa-*, cf. the commentary on Daśak. 138, 3 *tadvairināmaghoṣaṇaiḥ*, which renders *ghoṣaṇaiḥ* as *ḍiṇḍimaiḥ*. The feminine *ḍiṇḍimā-* is sometimes met with (Hariv.). Besides this concrete acception of the word, *ḍiṇḍima-* is also used to denote a humming sound, esp. of elephants, e.g. Vikramāṅkad. *-dantiḍiṇḍimaḥ* 15, 1, *ripuvāraṇa-ḍiṇḍimadhvani-* 15, 20, *abhramubhujaṅga-ḍiṇḍimadhvāna-* 5, 63; cf. Kādamb. 63, 5 Pet. *mukha-ḍiṇḍimadhvani-janitaprītiḥ* "delighting in making a humming sound with the mouth" (said of a young boy who imitates an elephant) [115]). In Vikram. 13, 66 (spoken to a cloud) *tvadīyadhvaniḍiṇḍimaṁ vinā* the dull rumbling sound of the thunder seems to be meant. As an adjective it is used according to Böhtlingk in Kādamb. 26, 13 Pet. *abhigaṇḍa-ḍiṇḍimānāṁ madhulihām*, although Miss Ridding's translation "the bees, who ought to be the drums on the elephant's frontal-bones" seems possible. However, the abstract noun in *jaladvipānāṁ madaḍiṇḍimatvam* Vikr. 9, 124, suggests an adjectival use of *ḍiṇḍima-*. Pa. *deṇḍima-*, *ḍiṇḍima-*, *dindima-* means only "a kind of kettle-drum", similarly Hi. *ḍiṇḍim* "a kind of small drum or tabor", *ḍimḍimī* (= *ḍamrū*, see below). Wackernagel II, 1, 9 reckons *ḍiṇḍima-* among the words of probably onomatopoeic origin.

tumbukin- "a kind of drum" (Böhtlingk).

āḍambara-, m. "drum, noise, sound", since *āḍambaraghātá-*, m. "drummer", Vāj. S. 30, 19; cf. S'at. Br. 14, 8, 12, 1 (accented *āḍámbara-*, whereas the grammaticians give *āḍambára-* or *āḍambará-*; Sāyaṇa takes it as *yathā ḍambarasya*); Mhbh. 7, 82, 4 (*kṣudrapaṭahaḥ* Nīl.), 7, 72, 11 (*tūryaravaḥ* Nīl.), 9, 46, 58, Rām. 5, 10, 45 (in the last two passages together with

---

[114]) Similarly Tam. *paṟai-y-aṭi-*, *paṟai-y-aṟai-* "to publish by beat of drum".

[115]) Miss Ridding's translation (p. 54) "full of joy at the sound of the bell held in his mouth" is hardly correct.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

ḍiṇḍima-). Wackernagel I, 177: "mit Verdacht fremden Ursprungs" [116]).

lambara- "a kind of drum" (Bṛh. Ār. Up.), corresponding to (ā)*ḍambara-* in the S'at. Br., may be compared to Pa. *āḷamba-, aḷambara-, ālambara-*, the Middle Indian form of *āḍambara-*. But the Vedic word may as well represent a Proto-Munda variant of *ḍamb-*, cf. also *lambāpaṭaha-* (Harṣacar.), lex. *lampāpaṭaha-* (= *pratipattipaṭahaḥ, ṭaṭṭarī*), and *lambate, lambhate, rambate* "*śabde*".

Pkt. *heramba-*, m., id. (= *ḍiṇḍimaḥ* Deśīn. 8, 76) contains the same root variant as the preceding word and the Proto-Munda prefix *he-, hi-* (cf. *hiṅgu-, Hiḍimba-, hindolayati*, etc. [117]).

ḍimbima- (= *ḍiṇḍima-*), Harṣacar. 219, 14. Cf. *ḍimba-* "a humming-top" (Naiṣ.), the name of which refers rather to the sound produced by it than to its roundish form (cf. *ḍimba-*).

ḍamaru- m. "a kind of drum" (Rājat., Prabodhac.).

ḍamarin-, do. (Bhāg. P.), cf. Hi. *ḍamrū* (*ḍamrin*) "a tabor or small drum shaped like an hour-glass (held in one hand and beaten with the fingers), anything shaped like an hour-glass", Mar. *ḍamru*. Is this drum thus named on account of its shape? This is the opinion of Przyluski J. As. 1926, I, 34 f., who observes that it "ressemble à un sablier, c'est-à-dire à une gourde à deux renflements qu'on aurait coupée de manière à ne conserver deux hémisphères". He therefore connects its name with *tumba-, udumbara-* (*q.v.*). On the other hand *ḍamaru-* cannot easily be separated from the verb *ḍamati* with which it is combined in *ḍamaḍ-ḍamaru-ḍāṁkṛtiḥ*, Prabodh. 55, 6 etc. Cf. Turner s.vv. *ḍamaru, ḍampho, ḍaph*.

Pali *dudrabhi-* "a kettle-drum" occurs a few times beside, or as a variant reading of, *dundubhi-*. It possibly stands for **dur-dabhi-*, cf. *daddabha-* "a heavy indistinct noise, thud" (Jāt. III, 76), *daddabhāyati* "to make a heavy noise, to thud" (Jāt. III, 77). The last words are to be referred to a root *dabh*, cf. *dabhakkaṁ* (indecl.) "a certain noise of falling fruit" (Jāt. III, 77). As a variant reading of *dabhakkaṁ* is handed down the form *duddabha-*, and for *daddabha-* a variant *duddabhayasadda-* occurs. Rhys Davids and Stede regard the last word as a Sanskrit gloss (= *dundubhyaśabda-*), but then *dudḍ-* cannot be correct. I think the various forms clearly point to the existence of prefixed words **dur-dabha-*, **dar-dabha-* by the side of *dabh*(*akka-*)-. Hence *dudrabhi-* may easily be explained as a case of metathesis.

All the words quoted may be referred to a common root *ḍa-ba*, which appears as *dubh-* (*dun-dubhi-*), *dum-* (*dun-dumāyita-*), *ḍamb-* (*āḍambara-*), *ḍimb-* (*ḍimbima-*), *ḍam-* (*ḍamaru-, ḍamarin-*), *ḍim-* (*ḍiṇ-ḍima-*). And this very root we find in modern Munda, cf. S. *ḍoḅo, ḍhoḅ ḍhoḅo, ḍhoḅo ḍhoḅo* "dull,

---

[116]) Kittel's suggestion (*āḍambara-* < Drav. **āḍum vare*, Tam. *paṟai* "drum", see Ind. Ant. 1, 237) is of course unacceptable.

[117]) *Heramba-* "buffalo" (Mālatīm.) is a Drav. word, see Kittel, Ind. Ant. 1, 239, Gundert, ZDMG. 23, 519, Caldwell, Compar. Gramm., 2nd. ed., p. 464, Bloch, BSOS. 5, 740, Ramaswami Aiyar, JAHRS. 10 (1937) 62.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

flat in sound (kettle-drum and *ḍhol*)"; *lobhor lobhor*, adv. "dull" (sound of drum); *ḍaba ḍubu* "the sound of continual drumming, to drum confusedly", *ḍebe ḍebe* "the sound of the kettle-drum", *ḍubu, ḍubuṛ* "to drum at (when outcasting)"; *ḍubu ḍubu, ḍubuṛ ḍubuṛ* "the sound of the kettle-drum when constantly beaten, rolling, drumming; to beat the drum"; *ḍubaṅ ḍubaṅ, lubaṅ lubaṅ*, adv. (the sound of the kettle-drum); *ḍhaḅuṅ ḍhaḅuṅ*, do. of the big kettle-drum, the *ḍaṃauṛa; ḍhombak' ḍhombak'* "with the sound of drums (*ḍhol*)"; *ḍaṃana* "a big drum (prob. the same as the following)"; *ḍaṃauṛa, ḍaṃaua, ḍaṃa ṭamak* "a very large kind of drum (no longer seen in the Santal Parganas)"; *ṭamak* "a kettle-drum" (prob. reborrowed from Hi. *ṭāmak*), *tumdak'* "the dancing-drum", M. *dumāṅ*, Ho *dumaṅ* "drum", M. *damua* "a kettle-drum", *ḍhāplā* "a kind of drum, tambourine", K. *dubru* "hewed drum", *timki* "drum (skin on earthen vessel)", *dhapo* "tambourine", So. *dēb-* "to beat a drum".

Tam. *tuṭumai*, Tel. *tuḍumu*, Kann. *tuḍubu* "a kind of drum", Kann. *tapaṭe* "tambourine", and Panj. *ḍibḍibī* "small tambourine", Nep. *dibdibe* "a toy drum made of clay", *ḍamphu* "a small drum or tambourine" are loanwords from Munda.

S. *ḍoḍom ḍoḍom* "the sound of drumming the *ḍhol*" (onomatopoeic according to Bodding), and *ḍoḍom ḍoḍom* "the sound of Doms drumming when arriving at a village", the latter of which is obviously connected with S. *Ḍom*, must be variants of the same word. S. *Ḍom* denotes "a certain low Hindu caste, individual of that caste. They are small agriculturists and musicians (drummers)" = Hi. *ḍom, ḍomb*, Skr. *ḍomba-*, Pkt. *ḍumba-* ("*śvapacaḥ*", Deśīn. 4, 11). Since *ḍoḍom ḍoḍom* is on the other hand connected with *ḍuḍumjak'* "a kind of dance (referring to the beating of the kettle-drum, *ṭamak*)", the *Ḍombas* must have been named from their drums, like the Pariahs (Tam. *paṟaiyaṉ* from *paṟai* "drum"). Przyluski's suggestion that the name of the *Dombas* is ultimately derived from that of the gourd (J. As. 1926, I, 35) should be corrected in this sense. To his article reference may be made for further particulars.

44. *paṅgu-* "lame".

Since Ath. V. Pariś. and Mhbh.; also *paṅguka-, paṅgula-*, cf. Pa. Pkt. *paṅgu-*, Pa. *paṅgula-*. There are many variants which may be classed according to their initial consonant:

initial *v-*: Skr. *vaṅku-* "going crookedly" (?), Pkt. *vaṅga-* "mutilated", Kshm. *woṅg*ᵘ "lame", perhaps Mar. *vāg* "douleur sourde (à la suite d'une contusion)" (which Bloch 404 derives from Skr. *vyaṅga-*), Panj. *viṅgā* "crooked";

initial *b-, bh-*: Rom. *baṅgo* "bent, lame", Kum. *bāṅo* "crooked", Nep. *bāṅgo* "crooked, bent, twisted, perverse", Panj. *biṅgā, viṅgā* "crooked";

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Hi. *bā̃kā* "crooked", Beng. *bāṅkuro* "short, hunch-backed" [118]), *beṅgā* "left-hand"; Skr. *bhaṅga-* "lameness, curve, crooked path", *bhaṅgura-* "curled, wrinkled" (contaminated with a derivative from *bhañj-*), Hi. Lhd. *bheṅgā* "squint-eyed", Beng. *bheṅgurā* "crippled", Ass. *bheṅgurā* "crooked";

initial *p-*, *ph-*: Skr. lex. *phakka-* "a cripple", Pa. *pakkha-*, id., Hi. *paṅgā* "crooked, deformed" (beside *pāgu*, *pāg(u)lā* "lame, deformed, crippled"), Mar. *pā̃g*, *pā̃gū*, *pā̃glā* "lame, maimed, deformed", etc. Hi. *pāgā*, *pīgā* "thin, weak, delicate, tender", Si. *pāgo* "weak" seem to belong to a different word-group.

The Proto-Munda origin of these words is apparent from the ablaut *a*: *e*: *i*: *o* and the variation *p* : *b* : *bh*. Cf. S. *pakoṛ* "to twist, distort, misrepresent", *pāk* "to twist, twine, turn, pervert", *bakṛa* "perverse, insincere, unscrupulous, crooked", *bakṛe* "to pervert", *dhaṇkuc' baṇkuc'* "crooked, lame, limping", *bak'bheṅkoṛ* "crooked, winding, tortuous", *makṛe* "wrong, left (cf. above Beng. *beṅgā* "left-hand"), perverse, awry, awkwardly", M. *pākṛe* "one having a deformed leg". Since these words point to a root *ba-ka*, Skr. *paṅgu-* probably represents a Proto-Munda original **pa-ṅu*. The connexion of Skr. *maṅku-* "tottering, reeling" and *vakra-* "crooked" (Ath. S.) is doubtful.

45. *paṭaha-*, m.n. "a kettledrum".

In the epics and the class. lit. (see Pet. D., and cf. *prayāṇa-paṭaha-*, Harṣacar. 203, ed. Parab[2], Vikramāṅk. 18, 106); Pa. *paṭaha-* "a kettle-drum, war-drum". Beside this word there occurs *paṇava-* "a kind of drum" (ep., Mṛcch.), sometimes as v.l., as Pañcat. 1, 15, 25 Bomb. (Edgerton: *paṇava-*), and in Pali (see Rhys Davids and Stede). The derivation from *praṇava-* (Böhtlingk, Uhlenbeck) is hardly correct. There must have been some difference between the two kinds of drum, cf. Tamil *paṇavam* "a small single-headed drum" : *paṭakam* "drum of the *akamuḻavu* class, small drum, tabor, kettle-drum, war-drum".

With suffix *-ha-* (cf. *kalaha-*, *maṭaha-*, etc.) from *paṭ/paṇ-*. On account of *maḍḍu-*, *maḍḍuka-*, *maṭṭa-* (names of drums) the root may originally have been *ba-ḍa* (*wa-ḍa*). Since this nasalization points to Proto-Munda, Tamil *paṇi*, *paṟai* "drum" are perhaps Munda lws. Cf. S. *bhoṭ bhoṭ* "with a pattering sound (as of falling hail)", *paṭ paṭ*, *paṭ paṭao* "to crackle, patter", *paṭas paṭas*, *paṭas puṭus* "with successive sounds (fire-wood being broken, falling hail-stones, etc.)", *peṭes peṭes* "with sharp cracking, clicking, crackling sounds", *paṭak' paṭak'* "snappishly, rattlingly", *bhud bhud* "with a pattering, thudding sound (as mangoes continually falling down, hail)", *bhad bhad*, id. (cf. H. *bhadbhadānā* "to make a sound by striking two bodies together, strike repeatedly"), *bid bid* "with a

---

[118]) Chatterji, Journ. Greater India Soc. III, 1936, 48 f., compares Sakai *běṅ-koṅ* "crooked", Semang *beṅko* "curvature", *boṅko* "hunchbacked" (Blagden's Vocabul. B 177) but these words are identical with Malay *beṅkok*.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

pattering sound (of people heard running at night)", *bidiṛ bidiṛ* "the drumming of *rin'jạ*", *bhidiṛ bhidiṛ* "the sound of the dancing-drum, when beating a certain time (*rin'jạ, karam* dancing)", *phetaṅ phetaṅ, phetaṛ phetaṛ* "a certain kind of drumming", *bhetaṛ ḍubaṅ, hetaṛ ḍubaṅ* "the sound of dancing-drums and kettle-drums" (onomatop. according to Bodding), etc.

46. *p a t á ṁ g a -*, m. "grasshopper".

Beside *pataṁgá-* "flying, bird" (ṚS., Ath. S.) there occurs since the S'at. Br. a word *patáṁga-*, m., which denotes several insects, esp. grasshopper, butterfly or moth. In Pali the word is exclusively used for the grasshopper; the Pa. word has a cerebral (*paṭaṅga-*), which Bloch, BSOS. 5, 739, explains through Dravidian influence (Tel. *paḍu* "falling") [119]. The PTS. Dict., however, points to Skr. lex. *phaḍiṅgā-*, f. "cricket" (S'abdacandrikā) and presumes that this word has been influenced by *pataga-*. As a matter of fact, the modern Aryan languages have interesting words for "grasshopper" which cannot be derived from the Skr. root *pat-* "to fly", cf. Ass. *phariṅ* "any winged insect", Nep. *phaṭyāṅro, phaṭeṅro* "grasshopper, cricket", Beng. *phariṅ*, Hi. *patiṅgā, phatiṅgā, phariṅgā* "grasshopper".

The same initial aspirate recurs in the Skr. root *phal-* which is not recorded (apart from *phal-* "*gatau*") in the Petersb. Dictionaries and in Schmidt's Nachträge. Böhtlingk quotes one instance of *ut-phal-* "aufspringen" (Bālar. 16, 39) s.v. *phal-* "to burst". A second instance occurs in Kathās. 108, 132 *utphalan* "bouncing up", where Brockhaus's text is corrupt (see Speyer, Studies about the Kathās. 82, 144). As an additional example may be quoted Vikramāṅkad. 16, 39

śvā nirgataḥ kanakaśṛṅkhalayā sahaiva
kopān nirīkṣya viśato gahane varāhān
ruddhas tayā viṭapikaṇṭakakīlakeṣu
sākrandakaṇṭhakuharo muhur utpaphāla.

The noun *phāla-* is recorded from Vikram. 13, 77, *utphāla-* from Kathās. 26, 20. Add *kṛtaphālam* (*patanti*) Vikram. 17, 59. Cf. Hi. *phālnā* "to spring", Nep. *phāl* "leap, jump". The corresponding verb in Nep. is however, not *phālnu* (which means "to throw out, displace"), but *phā̃dnu* "to jump, caper", (cf. Hi. *phā̃dnā*, Beng. *phā̃dā*, Kum. *phā̃dṇo*, Mar. *phā̃dṇē* "to leap"), which points to a root *paḍ-*. A similar root occurs in words meaning "kick", e.g., Pkt. *pattharā-, paḍḍalā-, paḍḍuā-* "kick" (*caraṇaghātaḥ*, Deśīn. 6, 8). A comparison of Munda words tends to show that these word-groups are connected, the original meaning being that of a quick, spasmodic movement (which also accounts for Hi. *phaṛphaṛānā*

---

[119]) According to the Abhidhānappadīpikā it has *t* when denoting a bird. See Geiger § 42 (*vaṭaṁsa-*, of unknown origin, is no evidence for a development *t* > *ṭ*).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

"to move convulsively", Guj. *phaḍphaḍvũ* "to flutter", Nep. *pharpharāunu* "to twitch, flutter, flap", etc.); cf.:

M. *p(h)āda*, Ho *padā*, K. *pandā* "to kick", S. *phanda* "to kick backwards", *phadgal* "to kick out", *phaḍruk'* "to kick, move the limbs spasmodically", *phaṇṭil, phẹṇṭoṛ, phẹn'coṛ* "to fly off, rebound, spring up or back" (M. *p(h)āṇḍil* "to spurt out, to fly off"), *phẹṇṭẹ phẹṛẹ* "jumping about" (contaminated with a word meaning "twisting", see s.v. *meṇḍha-*), *perel perel* "with jumps, leaps, bounds", *peḍel peḍel* "quickly, jumping along", *piḍgạ* "to gambol, run about, twist, jerk", *piṛiạk' piṛiạk'* "to make spasmodic movements with the legs or arms", *piḍgic'* "to pinch, sting, start up, to be startled, kick" (e.g. *duhạue jọkhẹc' gạiye piḍgic'ena* "while they were milking her the cow kicked"), *piḍic'*, id., *pidrạk' pidrạk'* "with a sudden movement of arms and legs, to make such movements, to kick, hit out", *padak' padak', paḍgak' paḍgak'* "bounding, jumping along", *paṇḍuc'* "to run away, flee". If *biḍ biḍ* "hurriedly, to run about" and *bidṛạ bidṛi* "hurriedly" are connected, the root is *ba-ḍa*. Cf. *khaṛpaṭao, khaṛ baṛao* "to be restive, jump and prance, fidget", *khaṭ paṭ*(a) "restless, noisy, at variance". There may be contamination of different word-families but it is hardly possible to draw a dividing-line between them. As for the meaning "to flutter" (Nep. *pharpharāunu* "to twitch, flutter, flap", *phaṭphaṭāunu* "to struggle, flap about, flutter") cf. S. *phada phud* "to flap, flutter", *phad phad* "with a do. sound", *phar phur* "to flutter, rush".

47. *puṅkha-*, m. **"the lowest (feathered) part of an arrow".**

Since Mhbh. Rām. The same sense is given for Tam. *puṅkam*, whereas the Pet. Dict. defines it more exactly as denoting: "der unterste, mit der Sehne in Berührung kommende Theil des Pfeils, in dem der Schaft und die Federn stecken". Cf. Pa. *poṅkh'ānupoṅkham* "arrow after arrow, constantly". Bloch 371 suggests a connexion with Mar. *põkh* "extrémité d'une ligne, d'une rangée", which is not, however, quite clear. Charpentier, ZDMG. 73, 130 f., derived *puṅkha-* from **pukkha-* and compared *puccha-* (unacceptable)[120]. In a recent publication (Transactions Philol. Soc. 1945, 110) Burrow explains it as a Dravidian loanword on account of Tam. *puḻuku* "arrowhead", Kann. *piḻuku, piḻku* "the lower part of an arrow which comes in contact with the bowstring and contains the feathers and shaft". If so, *puṅkha-* would be based on a Dravidian form with the liquid assimilated.

Cf. however S. *phõk* "the notch of an arrow for receiving the bow-string, the notch at the top of a post, to cut a notch", *phọṅkẹ* "with openings in walls, with gaps, holes", *phãk* "a gap, an opening, breach, chasm" (possibly a reborrowing, cf. Hi. *phãk* "cut, opening, aperture in fruit, etc.",

---

120) Turner s.v. *pw̃ākh* suggests some connexion with Pkt. *paṁkha-* < *pakṣa-* "wing, feather".

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

phãknā "to open out, to part asunder, to gape", Beng. *phãk* "empty space", *phōkar* "hole, slit" [121]), etc.). Root *ba-ga* "wide apart, bifurcating", cf. *beg begę* "wide open, to gape", *bañ bañ, bǫñ bǫñ, bhǫñ bhǫñ, pañ pañ* "yawning, gaping", M. *phoñ* "to have an opening", S. *bañgǫrae, bęñgǫak', bęgęwak'* "with mouth wide agape", *bhuk'* "hole, cavity" (cf. Skr. lex. *bhūka-*, m.n. "hole"). NIA. derivatives are, e.g., Guj. *bhōk* "hole", Mar. *bhōk* "hollowness", Nep. *bhwāñ* "chasm, hole" (Turner 485), and Hi. *phokā*, Kshm. *phŏka* "hollow". Cf. Khasi *waṅ* "wide open" and Palaung *bōñ* "hole", Central Sakai *bĕmbúk* "hollow (in tree)". S. *phǭk* cannot accordingly be connected with the Drav. words.

48. *puṇḍárīka-*, n. "the white lotus".

Since ṚS. 10, 142, 8 in common use (see Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index I, 526). From **puṇḍarī-*, cf. *puṇḍari-srajā́* "a wreath of lotus leaves" (TS., TBr.), and *puṇḍarya-, pauṇḍarya-*, n. (= *prapauṇḍarīka-*) "a certain herb used as a remedy against eye-diseases".

The primary sense must have been "white" (see below). This leads us to suppose a connexion with *pāṇḍú-* (since S'at. Br.), *pāṇḍura-* (since Suśruta, Varāh. Bṛh. S.) "whitish, yellow, white, pale", Pkt. *paḍḍa-* "white". Weber connected these words with *palitá-* "grey" (Greek *πολιός*, etc.), which was accepted by Lidén, Studien zur altind. und vergleich. Sprachgesch. 90, Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, 170, Petersson, Studien zu Fortunatovs Regel 54, etc. Although this explanation has become something like a dogma (e.g. Specht, Der Ursprung der idg. Deklination 117) [122]), its problematical character is obvious when we compare Pkt. *paḍḍa-*. IE. formations **pel-do-* and **pēl-ndu-* (which one would have to posit in explanation of *paḍḍa-* and *pāṇḍú-*) are mere theoretical constructions. There is hardly one of the word-explanations, for which Lidén assumed the suffix *-ndo-, -ndu-*, which stands a closer examination. Pkt. *paḍḍa-* rather points to a Dravidian or Proto-Munda origin of *pāṇḍú-*.

Cf. S. *poṇḍ* "white", *poṇḍe* "a common nickname of Santal girls who are very light-coloured when small", *poṇḍe aṛ* "a whitish variety of the sugar-cane", Mahle *pǭṇḍ*, M. Ho *pūṇḍī*, Bh. *pōṇḍē*, Kw. *puṇḍī* "white"; S. *peṇḍra, peṇḍraha* "grey-eyed, white-eyed", *paṇḍra* (f. *paṇḍri*) "having light-coloured, greyish eyes" (Campbell: "having a white skin"), M. *paṇḍrā* "greyish buffalo", Ho *pāṇḍoi* "white pumpkin", perhaps also S. *porsa, phorsa* "greyish, reddish-white" (but see s.v. *phalgú-* "reddish"), and *pǫṭǫhañ* "whitish, greyish, dirty-grey", *paṛkui* "fair, light-coloured (hair), pale (leaves)". Note that *polso* "dim, hazy" (cf. *popolhot'*, etc.)

---

[121]) Against Chatterji 405 (who compares *phãp* "swelling", *phōpol* "empty") and Turner 411 (Nep. *phoko* "blister, boil, ulcer, tumour" is rather related to S. *bukạ* "navel", see p. 155, n. 58).

[122]) Otherwise but quite improbable Thieme, ZDMG. 93 (1939) 136.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

is also used in the sense of "whitish, not quite white". S. *paṇḍu* and *paṇḍua* (also *paṇḍra*?) are reborrowings from Hindi.

K. *pulum* and J. *pīlē* "white" contain **puḍ-* and **pīḍ-* (cf. S. *peṇḍra*), unless *pīlē* is an Aryan loan-word. The NIA. forms of the word for "yellow" (H. *pīlā*, etc.) are not clear (see Turner, s.v. *pahēlo*), but the Skr. word *pīta-* "yellow" (since Gṛh. S. and Upan.) resembles the Munda words so much that the question arises, if it may perhaps stand for **pīḍa-* (with early decerebralization and unvoicing). The derivation of *pīta-* is not known but there is at least one point which seems to indicate a foreign origin, viz. *pittá-*, n. "the bile" (since Ath. S., VS., Śat. Br.), likewise of unknown origin. In view of Dutch *gal* "bile" : *geel* "yellow", Engl. *gall* : *yellow*, Greek *χόλος* : *χλωρός*, it may be connected with *pīta-*, but then both *i* : *ī* and *t* : *tt* suggest a foreign origin (which may be Proto-Munda).

Puṇḍra-, n. "mark on the forehead" (lex. *puṇḍa-*, m.) is probably a Dravidian word, cf. Tam. *poṭṭu*, Tel. Kann. *boṭṭu* "a round mark (red, white or black) worn on the forehead, dot, spot, mark", Tam. *puḷḷi* "mark, dot, speck, etc.", *poṛi* "spot, dot, point". If this supposition is correct, S. *topoṇḍ* "mark made by goad, esp. on buffaloes" (Campbell) must be a Dravidian loanword with secondary prefixation.

49. *pelava-* "tender, delicate (flowers, shoots, members)".

Since Suśr. and Kālidāsa. A non-Aryan word (but Telugu *pēlavamu* "soft, weak, easy, sapless" is an Aryan loan-word). Unacceptable Uhlenbeck: *pelava-* from **palyava-*. A suffix *-va-* is but rarely added to foreign words (in *malvá-* "foolish, silly" and similar instances we have probably to do with words originally ending in *-u-*, to which *-a* was added, hence **maḍu-a-*; see for this word p. 104). On the other hand, a suffix *pe-*, variant of the well-known prefix *pa-* (*par-*, *pan-*), occurs in some Proto-Munda words, as *pedaṇḍa-* (see s.v. *daṇḍá-*); cf. *bhe-* beside *ba-* (see s.v. *bakura-*), and *me-* beside *ma-* (cf. *meḳhalā*, see s.v. *śṛṅkhalā*). If however *pelava-* contains the same prefix *pe-*, the root word *lava-* may be compared with S. *lewa* "supple, pliant, flexible, soft", which is used of sticks, branches and of the human body, just as *pelava-*.

Other derivatives from *la-wa* are, e.g., S. *lib lib* "soft, mellow, saturated", M. Ho *lebe* "soft", S. *labar lubur* "soft, softened, pulpy", *lạbur* "soft, pliant, slack, supple, overripe", *lẹbẹr lẹbẹr* "soft, tender, thin", *libir libir* "soft, mellow, pulpy", *lọbhọr* "slack, soft", *lubur* "soft, boggy", *libur* "soft, tender", M. *leber leber, libur libur* "very soft and overripe", S. *lib libur* = *lib lib, libṛạ* "slack, too pliant", *lẹbṛẹc'* "soft, tender, slack", *libạs labes* "soft, tender, ripe (fruit)", *labas lubus* "soft, fat, plump", and many other words as *labak' lubuk'*, *lạbit'*, *lọbọe*, *lubui*, *lẹpẹ pẹjẹ*, *lẹpẹs*, *lọpọt'*, *lẹpẹt'*, *lapoteaṅ*, *lapra*.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

50. *phálgú-* "reddish".

A word of the Yajur-Veda (TS., KS., VS.), cf. *phálguna-* "reddish, red" (TS., VS., = *arjuna-* in the other recension). Derivative: *phālguna-*, etc. Usually connected with *visphuliṅga-* (since S'at. Br.), *sphuliṅga-* (since Mhbh.) "spark of fire" (cf. *visphuliṅgaká-*, ṚS.?), and with Lett. *spulguot* "to glitter, sparkle", Arm. *phail* (from **sphₑli-*) "sparkle, lustre, splendour". See e.g. Johansson, IF. 2, 44, Brugmann, Grundriss I², 510, Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, 218, Uhlenbeck, s.v., Fick I⁴, 149, Walde–Pokorny II, 679, etc. The meaning "reddish" is not, however, favourable to a connexion with words for "spark".

The Yajur-Veda has several Proto-Munda words with suffix *-ga-* or *-gu-*, e.g. *khaḍgá-*, m. "rhinoceros", *phalgú-* "minute, weak" (cf. also *khaḍga-* "sword"). S. *poḍgoe* "reddish, pale red, reddish-brown" suggests a similar explanation for our word *phalgú-*. The guttural is suffixal, cf. *poḍeoṭ'* "pale (red)". Since *poḍgoe* must stand for **poḍgoe* on account of *porsa* "reddish-white (fowls)", *phorsa* "greyish, reddish-white", the *l* of *phalgú-* represents the cerebral (as in *phalgú-* "minute", see p. 100).

This cerebral is still preserved in *pāṭala-* "pale-red; m. pale-red colour, redness" (since Kauś., Kālid., Varāh. Bṛh. S.), also name of the tree *Bignonia Suaveolens* (since the epics). Lidén, Studien zur altind. und vergl. Sprachgesch. 90, compared Skr. *hāṭaka-* "gold" (which is connected with Old Church Slav. *zlato*, IE. **ĝholto-*), and connected *pāṭala-* with *pāṇḍu-* "pale, white" [123]). This last word is however rather a Proto-Munda word (see s.v. *puṇḍarīka-*); hence the original **pel-to-* (assumed by Lidén) lacks any support. On the other hand, the sense of *pāṭala-* suggests a connexion with *phalgú-*. As for *pallavita-* "reddened" (Vāsav., see Schmidt, Nachtr.) I do not hazard any opinion.

51. *bákura-*.

ṚS. 1, 117, 21 cd (to the Aśvin) runs as follows: *abhí dásyum bákureṇā dhámantorú jyótiś cakrathur āryāya* "indem ihr ... mit dem Bakura den Dasyu anblieset, habt ihr weites Licht für den Arier bereitet" (Geldner). It is disputed which precise meaning the word conveys: according to the indigenous tradition "thunderbolt, lightning"; Roth prefers "a kind of war-trumpet" (on account of *bākurá-*), Geldner: "etwas, woraus ein Schlauch gefertigt wird". But *bākurá-* 9, 1, 8

tám īṁ hinvanty agrúvo
dhámanti bākuráṁ dṛ́tim

"Die unvermählten entsenden ihn; sie blasen den tönenden Schlauch" (Hillebrandt, Lieder des RV.), on which Geldner's explanation is based, need not be a vṛddhi-derivative (see below). From the parallelism between

---

[123]) Similarly e.g. Walde–Pokorny II, 53.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

1, 117, 21 and 9, 1, 8, it is evident that *bákura-* and *bākurá-* (*dṛti-*) must convey approximately the same sense, the proper meaning of both words being something like "resounding", while the first word is used as a substantive. As a matter of fact, the forms *bekurā-* ("voice, sound" according to Naigh., cf. *bekurā nāmāsi*, Pañcav. Br. 1, 3, 1) and *bekúri-* (*nákṣatrāny apsaráso bekúrayo nắma*, Taitt. S., Kāṭh. S., Lāṭy., *bhekúrayo* Vāj. Saṁh., *bhākurayo* S'at. Br.) prove that *ba-*, *b(h)ā-*, *b(h)e-* are Proto-Munda prefixes [124]).

Now we find in Santali *bhạkur bhạkur* "the call of a leopard" (which in Bodding's opinion is an onomatopoea), *bhạṅkur bhạṅkur* "do., about the sound of a tight string when strung, of a *buạṅ* or *bahla* when played", *hạkur* "to bray, growl (donkeys, leopards)", M. *hukur* "a low moan or growl, the cry of a buffalo". Although the vague character of such terms renders it impossible to furnish a conclusive proof it seems likely that the radical syllable *kur-* of *bákura-* etc., is identical with the root element of *bhạkur bhạkur*, etc.

Note also Pali *bakkula-* "a demon, uttering horrible cries, a form assumed by the Yakkha Ajakalāpaka, to terrify the Buddha". It has been explained as corresponding to Skr. *vyākula-* or as an error for *pākula-*. Its meaning leads us rather to derive it from **bar-kur-a-* and to connect it with the above mentioned words. But as this word is only once attested (Udāna 5) no theory can be founded on it.

52. *baḍiśa-*, m.n. "hook, esp. fish-hook".

Attested since Mhbh., Rām. (e.g. 3, 51, 28; 68, 14), cf. S'āk. 114, 2 (ed. Pischel[1]), Bhāratamañj. 1, 125, Bṛhatkathāmañj. 18, 153. In Suśruta and Vāgbhaṭa it denotes a hook-shaped surgical instrument. Instead of *baḍiśa-* (which is the oldest form, see Lüders, Philol. Indica 549) we also meet with the variants *vaḍiśa-* (see Pet. D.), *biliśa-* (Suparṇādhy. 17, 2 [125]), *bāḍiśa-* (Vikramāṅkad. 12, 63), *valiśa-* (Lex., cf. Tamil *valicam*, *velicam* for *paṭicam*), lex. *valiśī-* (*-i-*), *vaḍiśī-*, *variśī-* (Hi. *vaṛiśī*!).

The vocalic interchange *a* : *ā* : *i* suggests a Proto-Munda origin: Proto-Mundas and Dravidians were, indeed, the fishermen of ancient India. The modern Munda words (S. *bāṛsi*, M. *bāṛsi*, *bansi*), however, are clearly Aryan loanwords. Judging from such parallels as Pa. *vaṅka-* "crooked, a hook, a fish-hook", Tamil *tūṇṭu* "fish-hook" (: *toṭi* "curve, bend", *tōṭṭi* "elephant hook or goad, hook, clasp") the original meaning of the word has probably been "crooked". *Baḍiśa-* is accordingly to be separated

---

[124]) Frisk, Zur indoir. und griech. Nominalbildung 33, wrongly analyses *bák-ura-*.

[125]) In *matsya iva biliśaṁ jagrasāno*, corresponding to Mhbh. 1, 24 6 Poona *nigīrṇaṁ baḍiśaṁ yathā* (v.l. *vidaśau*). Cf. Charpentier, Die Suparṇasage, p. 243 f.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

from *saṇ-ḍiśa-* "tongs" [126]). Since the suffix *-iśa-* also occurs in other loan-words, as for instance in *bāliśa-* from *bāla-* "young, not full-grown, childish" [127]), *baḍ-* may be derived from the Proto-Munda root *ba-ḍa* "crooked", cf. S. *bhaḍea, bhaḍẹ* "with crooked foot, bandy-legged, bow-legged", *bhaḍẹṭ'* "knock-kneed, limping", *paṭwẹṭ'* "crooked, perverse, etc.", *aṇṭẹṭ' paṇṭẹṭ'* "crooked, winding", *paṭea* "crooked, disobliging" (e.g. *paṭea ṭheṅga* "a crooked stick"), *paṭẹṭ'* "to interlace, plait, put across", *paṇṭẹṭ', peṇṭoṭ'* "miserly, stingy" (like *paṭwẹṭ'*), *peṛta* "perverse, crooked", *peṭẹr* "twisted, turned", *piṛiạ paṭe* "zig-zag, wriggling", *piṭi* "to coil up, curly", *piṭuạ paṭwẹ* "crooked, bent, zig-zag". See also s.v. *meṇḍa-*.

Note Skr. *palāva-* "fishing hook" (Vāsavad. 138, 3), perhaps from **paḍua*? (cf. *paṭwẹṭ', piṭuạ paṭwẹ*).

53. *baṇḍá-* "maimed, mutilated, crippled".

1. A word of the Vedic language (Ath. S., S'āṅkh. S'S., Lāṭy., Āp. S'S.), especially used with reference to the hands (*chinnahastakaḥ, hastādivarjitaḥ* lex.); according to the commentaries it also means "impotent". Cf. *ávaṇḍa-* (*ábaṇḍa-*) "not tailless" (Eggeling, transl. of S'at. Br. 3, 3, 1, 16).

No satisfactory explanation has thus far been given. Johansson, KZ. 36, 371 (cf. Petersson, Studien zu Fortunatovs Regel 70) derived it from

---

[126]) Skr. *saṇḍiśa-*, m. "tongs" is only recorded by the Śabdakalpadruma and is generally regarded as a corruption of *saṁdaṁśa-* (see Pet. Dict.). In view of Kui *ḍīsa* "tongs, pincers", however, we cannot reject *a priori* the possibility of a Proto-Munda word **sa-ṇḍiś-* having existed alongside of *saṁdaṁśa-* (which may have ousted it in the printed texts); Pa. *saṇḍāsa-* would then represent the variant *ḍas-* (cf. Beng. *sā̃ṛāsi*, Hi. *sāṛsī*, whence S. *saṇḍasi, saṛasi, saṛsi*, M. *sandsi* "a blacksmith's pair of tongs, pincers"), and both may stand for *diṭ-, daṭ-*, cf. S. *ḍaṭo, ḍaṭom* (M. *ḍaṛo*) "claw of a crab, to pinch, grip", *ḍaṭkop'* "to pinch, nip", *ḍaṭop'* "to seize with the toes", *ḍiṭom* "the claws of a crab, to clutch, pinch, nip", *riḍet', riḍop', riḍkop', raḍop'* "to pinch, nib" (root *ḍa-ḍa*). Only critical text-editions can decide the question whether or not *saṇḍiśa-* has really existed.

[127]) *Bāla-* "young, not full-grown, childish, ignorant", m. "child, boy, fool" (since Chand. Up., Śāṅkh. GS.) and *bāliśa-* (adj.), id. (since Nir., Mhbh.) do not look like inherited IE. words. Neither the connexion with Russ. *balovát'* (Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, 182, Uhlenbeck), nor that with *balbalā-kṛ-* or with *bála-* "strength" (Walde–Pokorny II, 106, resp. 111) or with *baṣkáya-*, O. Ch. Sl. *bolьnŏ* (Scheftelowitz, ZII. 6, 113, KZ. 53, 250) carries conviction. Cf. S. *bale* "tender, fresh, young, infantile", M. *bāle hon* "infant, youth", *bāle hopon* "very small children", Ho *bāle* "early, young", perhaps So. *rĕbăl* "child, lad" (? cf. voc. *rĕbă*). Bodding compares S. *bale* to Semang *balé'* "young, fine, thin, slender, little, small" (Blagden's list, Y 40), which, indeed, bears a striking resemblance to it. Skr. *bāla-* (and Tam. *vaḷu* "youth, that which is tender or young"?) may be derived from this word which is, on the other hand, to be separated from S. *bẹlẹn' bẹlẹn'* "tender, delicate, very soft", *bẹlkẹc', bẹlkẹn', bẹlṭẹn'* "tender, soft (about babes, some two three months old)". These words are connected with *bẹṭkẹc'* "weak, tender, young, inexperienced", *bẹṭrẹṭ', pẹṭrẹṭ'* "small with a big belly", *bẹḍrẹc'* "stunted, small, insignificant", *baṇḍa* "young man" (Campb.), *baṇḍa baṇḍi* "stumpy, short" (root *wa-ḍa*, see further s.v. *baṇḍá-*). Cf. also So. *bólej'* "tender, young".

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

balnda-* (root **beld-* "to push, maim"), which was criticized by Persson, Beiträge zur idg. Wortforschung 266, n. 3. Scheftelowitz, KZ. 53, 251, proposes a similar explanation (valnda-* : Lat. *vello*). These theories disregard the fact that there is a class. Skr. word *paṇḍa-*, m. "eunuch", which Böhtlingk (Pet. D.), Wackernagel I, 116, and Uhlenbeck connect with *baṇḍá-*. Tedesco, JAOS. 65, 1945, 86 n. 30, separates both words and explains *baṇḍá-* as a Middle Indian variant of *vṛddhá-* "cut". It seems doubtful, however, whether *paṇḍa-* can be easily dismissed with. The IE. etymology proposed by Petersson (see op. c. 56), viz. connexion with Lat. *pello*, Old Engl. *anfilt* "anvil" (root **pel-d-* "to beat"), is anything but plausible, as it is based on Fortunatov's obsolete theory. The relation *paṇḍa-* : *baṇḍá-* rather confirms Wackernagel's opinion (based on the sole phoneme *b*) that *baṇḍá-* is a foreign word (op. c. 184).

There are however more indications of a foreign origin. The following words point to an original meaning "defective": Skr. *vaṇṭa-* "tailless" (Gaut.), "unmarried, an unmarried man" (Hemac., Med.); cf. Pkt. *vaṇṭha-* "unmarried" (*akṛtavivāhaḥ*, Deśīn. 7, 83); Skr. lex. *vaṇṭha-* "crippled, maimed, unmarried" (Hemac., Med.), cf. Pa. *vaṭṭa-* "cripple" [128]), *avaṇṭa-* "well-formed (breast of woman)" [129]); Skr.dhp. *vaṇṭhate* "*ekacaryāyām*" (wrongly Gundert, ZDMG. 23, 522: Tam. *oṉṟu* "one"), *vaṭhara-* "*mandaḥ, mūrkhaḥ*" (lex.), *vandhya-* (Pa. *vañjha-*) "barren, sterile, fruitless, useless, wanting, destitute of" (*abandhya-* Kālid., *avandhya-* "not fruitless, successful"), and, on the other hand, Pa. *bhaṇḍu-* "bald-headed, close shaven", Pkt. *bhaṇḍu-* "tonsure, shaving", *bhaṇḍa-* "decapitated" (*chinnamūrdhā* Deśīn. 6, 100 and 109 resp.). The same double semantic development from "short" to "bare, shaven" on the one hand, and to "stunted, blunt, defective, barren, etc." on the other, is also met with in derivatives from the roots *ga-ḍa* (see s.v. *kuṇṭha-*), *ḍa-ḍa* (see s. vv. *ḍaṇḍá-*, *śuṇṭhá-*) and *ḍa-wa* (see s.v. *tūparáṃ-*) [130]). Cf. also Hi. *bāḍā* "maimed, crippled, docked, tailless", Skr. *bhadrā-kṛ-* "to shave", *madrā-kṛ-* "to shear", Mar. *bhādarṇē* "to shave, shear", etc. (see further Tedesco, p. 90 f.).

The aspiration (in *bhaṇḍ-*, *bhadrā-*), and the nasalization (in *madrā-*, in addition to which many instances will be mentioned below) suggest a Proto-Munda origin, although they do not afford a conclusive proof: in Dravidian an initial *v* may also become *m* [131]) and the change *m* > *v* also occurs. A further indication of foreign origin is the surd in *paṇḍaka-* (Kāṭh. S.), *páṇḍaga-* (Ath. S.) [132]), *paṇḍá-*, *paṇḍra-* (Sāh. D.),

[128]) Corrupt for *vaṇṭha-* according to the PTS. Dict.

[129]) Unlikely PTS. Dict. s.v. *vaṇṭa-* "stalk".

[130]) *Vádhri-* "emasculated, unmanly" (RS) is usually connected with *ἐθρίς· τομίας κριός* but the IE. character of the Greek word is not quite certain on account of the variants *ἄθρις*, *ἴθρις* and *ὄθρις*. Nevertheless *vádhri-* is hardly connected with *baṇḍá-*, *badhirá-* (see below).

[131]) Ramaswami Aiyar, Educational Review, June 1930, p. 5 f. (off-print), Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 351 f.

[132]) For *-ga-* see Wackernagel I, 117 and Oldenberg ad RS. 1, 116, 1 (*árbhaga-*).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

paṇḍraka- (Sāh. D., Mārk. Pur.); cf. *pandruka-* (miswritten as *yandruka-* in Kap. S.), *paṇḍu-* (lex.) "eunuch". Pali has *paṇḍaka-* "eunuch, weakling", and according to some authorities Pkt. *peṇḍaa-* (Deśīn. 6, 53) also means "eunuch". In addition to the bibliography quoted above it should be noted that Burrow recently connected *paṇḍa-* with the Dravidian word for "woman" (Tam. *peṇ, peṇṭu*, etc.), see Transactions Philol. Soc. 1945, 109. But "woman" and "eunuch" are different notions: as for Tam. *pēṭi, pēṭu* "hermaphrodite", Tel. *pēḍi* "eunuch, hermaphrodite", it is not quite certain that they are native Dravidian words as Tel. *pēḍe* "a beardless man" is in all probability a Munda loanword (see p. 104) [133].

In other words the *ḍ* has been unvoiced and appears as *ṭ, c*. This, together with the ablaut *a : e : o/u*, is a further indication of foreign origin. The vocalism points to Proto-Munda, rather than to Dravidian. Burrow, it is true, quotes some instances of a fluctuation between *a, i* and *u* in radical syllables of Dravidian words (Transactions 103, 108, etc.); it remains to be seen how many of them are native Dravidian words. The following are a few Aryan words derived from the same root as *baṇḍá-*: Skr. *būṭakarṇa-* (Pañcat. Pūrṇabh. 134, 26: *būṭa-* "cut, rent, torn") [134], Si. *buṭo* "ear-cropt, without ears, wanting horns or tail, incomplete, short", Panj. *būṛā* "having the ears cut off, having no ears", Guj. *buṭṭho* "reduced to a stump, blunt", Hi. *būcā* "crop-eared" (cf. Nep. *buco, bucco* "deformed, mutilated, earless, noseless, tailless, tuskless, etc.", Beng. *bōcā* "noseless", etc.), *bhoṭā, bhōṭā, bhōṭhā, bhōṭhrā* "blunt, dull", *bũṭ* "sprig, stalk, stem; small, diminutive, stumpy", *bōṭ, bōṭā* "stalk, stem, stump, finger", Beng. *bōṭā* "foot-stalk of leaf or flower" (which Chatterji 356, 491 derives from **vŏṇṭa- < vṛnta-*); Hi. *bheṭū, bheṭī* "stalk, stem", *peṛī* "trunk of a tree, stubble", *peṛ* "tree, plant, shrub". The meaning "stalk, stem" has developed from "stripped, leafless" (see s.v. *daṇḍá-*). For further examples of *boḍ-* I refer to Tedesco, p. 86 and 96 f., from whose materials I only quote Pkt. *boḍa-* "*muṇḍita-mastakaḥ*" (Sheth), *voḍa-* "*chinnakarṇaḥ*" (Hāla), Mar. *boḍṇē* "to shave, fleece", *bhūḍā* "bare, naked, void, wanting the usual ornament or accompaniment, hornless". Cf. also Si. *bhuḍo* "toothless", Hi. *būṛā, boṛā, bauṛhā, baulā*, id. and see in general Turner s.v. *bhutte*.

Munda has a large number of derivatives from *wa-ḍa* "short, blunt, stunted, bare, etc.", cf. S. *baṇḍa* "docked, with stumpy tail" (perhaps reborrowing from Hi. *bā̃ḍā*), *baṇḍiạ* "with shortened tail, to cut off, etc." (M. *bāṇḍā*, Ho. *bāṇḍiā* "tailless"), *baḍhiạ* "a castrated pig", (Ho *baidā* "castrated"), *bāoṛā* "dwarf, dwarfish, of small stature", *boṛa* (M. *boṛā*),

---

133) Javanese *wandu*, "hermaphrodite", Madurese *bandhu(h)*, Nias *mandru* "barren" are highly interesting but I must leave it to competent judges to elucidate their relations to *paṇḍa-* (if there are any). Lafeber's remarks (Klankleer van het Niassisch, p. 95 with n. 1) do not carry conviction (for the Indian explanation of the name *Pāṇḍu-* cf. Mhbh. 1, 100, 17 Poona ed.).

134) See Schmidt, Nachtr. (with lit.) and cf. Ved. *śuṇṭhākárṇa-*, id., *from ḍa-ḍa* (p. 149).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

borga "blunt, to lose its edge", *bhoṭko, bhoṭṛo* "blunt, dull", *boṛo* "blunt, without teeth", *buṭa* "the foot or base of a tree, the stem below the branches, trunk" (Ho *buṭā* "the trunk of a tree, a stump"), *buṭra* "short, dwarfish", *butuc'* "short (of ears)", *podea* "small, insignificant, useless", *jerweṇḍet'* "little wretch, greenhorn", *jer beṇḍak'* "small, insignificant", *jere beḍhe* "stunted, crippled, small" (*jer-* < *ḍa-ḍa*), *beḍrec'* "stunted, small, insignificant", *peḍgo* "dwarfish, short", *bucą* "crop-eared, with neck partly broken off; to break off, cut off, crop", M. *bucā* "broken, defective" (cf. Beng. *bōcā*), etc. The meaning "bare" is found in S. *baṇḍuc' baṇḍuc', bhaṇḍal bhuṇḍul* "with scanty clothing, naked", *bhuṇḍlą* (f. *bhuṇḍli*) "who has no girdle round the loins, unsightly, naked, improperly clad", *poṭor poṭor* "bare, denuded", *poṭak'* "to strip, peel off, rub off, break", *laṛuc' baṛuc', laṛuc' paṭuc'* "naked, shamelessly", etc. The last expressions are, like *jerweṇḍet'* etc., combinations of *ḍa-ḍa* and *wa-ḍa* (see also p. 80).

2. Among the derivatives from *ḍa-ḍa* "short, stripped, bare" we find, by the side of *ḍeṇḍea, ḍeṇḍka* "bare, scantily clothed" etc., also *ḍhaṇḍkao* "to be stripped, destitute, utterly poor", *halę ḍalę* "destitute, forlorn, shelterless, to be in want", *ṭoṇṭa* "scarce, insufficient", *laṇḍha phucią, laṛ baṛea* "destitute, poor, indigent" (*ḍa-ḍa* + *wa-ḍa*!). The same semantic development is found in derivatives from *wa-ḍa*. Cf. beside Pkt. *ṭhalla-, ḍhella-* "poor" (*ḍa-ḍa*) the rhyme-word *phella-*, id. (*daridraḥ*, Deśīn. 6, 85) from *wa-ḍa* (cf. Mar. *phel* "empty pod"). Such parallel formations and rhyme-words derived from two different roots are a specific Munda phenomenon (see below). Cf. also Pa. *pottha-* (v.l. *poṭha-*) "poor, indigent" and S. *baḍho* "to lack, want, be too poorly".

A parallel to *daṇḍá-* "pole, staff" (from *ḍa-ḍa*) is possibly Hi. *balā* "beam, pole, boat-hook", cf. *ballī* "rafter, pole, prop, the pole or bamboo with which a boat is propelled", *baṛeṛ* "beam, rafter" ~ Pkt. *belī* "post, pillar" (*sthūṇā*, Deśīn. 6, 95). The meaning "stalk, cane, reed" may further develop to "arrow", cf. S. *ḍol* "shaft of an arrow" (> Skr. *dūla-*?), Skr. *nārāca-* (see p. 81), and *kaṇḍa-*, m.n. "stalk, stem; cane, arrow" (p. 50). Hence Rigvedic *bundá-*, m. "arrow" may be an "Aryanized" form (like *udumbára-, udumbála-, nadá-, suvení-*) of a Proto-Munda word **buṇḍa* (from *wa-ḍa*). Tedesco, Language 22, 1946, 190, rightly connects it with *muṇḍá-*, but the derivation from *vṛdh-* and the various sound-laws which it necessitates, are unacceptable. See further s.v. *kamaṭha-*.

Hi. *chīlnā* "to peel, pare, skin, excoriate", *chāl* "skin, rind, peel, bark" belong to a group of derivatives from *ḍa-ḍa* (p. 79); cf. K. *sālī* "husks, bark, peel" (~ Mar. *sāl*), Gondi *caṛa, chilya* "husks", Ladhadi *sāl* "husks", etc. In the same way we may derive the following words from *wa-ḍa*: Skr. *busa-*, n. "chaff" (Kauś., Suśr.), *buśa-, buṣa-, būṣa-* (lex.), Pa. *bhusa-* "chaff of corn", Hi. *bhus, bhũs, bhũsā*, Mar. *bhũs*, Rom. *phus*, etc. (see Bloch 380). S. *busą, bhusą* "husk, chaff, bran, refuse" is a reborrowing from Hi. but cf. *poṭak'* "to strip, peel off, rub off, break", Ho

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

pora "to skin". Johansson's explanation of Pa. *bhusa-* (from *bhraś-*, KZ. 36, 356) is to be rejected. The aspiration in Pa. *bhusa-* (Geiger § 40) is sufficiently explained by the Proto-Munda origin [135]), just as in the case of Pa. *thusa-* : Skr. *túṣa-*, m. "the husk or chaff of grain" (since Ath. S.), which is again a rhyme-word of *busa-*, derived from *ḍa-ḍa*. Like Guj. *photrũ* "chaff" [136]) and Mar. *phel* "empty pod", Tam. *poṭṭu* and Kann. *poṭṭu*, *hoṭṭu* "chaff, husk" are prob. Munda loanwords.

A very common semantic development, which is found in derivatives from all Munda roots with the meaning "stunted, short", is: "small" > "child, boy" > "servant" (cf. Skr. *kiśora-*, *ceṭa-*, etc. from *ḍa-ḍa*). Thus we find in Santali: *peḍgọ* "dwarfish, short" ~ *beṭkẹc'* "weak, tender, young, inexperienced"; *buṭrạ* "short, dwarfish" ~ *butru*, *butur* "a child"; *baṇḍa* "young man" (Campb.), a rhyme-word of K. *gaṇḍā*, *gandā* "boy" (p. 50), just as *buṭrạ* is of S. *guṭṛạ*, id. Many derivatives occur in Aryan, e.g.:

with initial *b*: Skr. *baṭu-*, m. "lad, fellow, boy, a young Brahman" (since Mhbh., see Pet. D. V, 1642) [137]), *voṭā-* (*poṭā-*) "female servant" (< *girl), Halāy., Pkt. *boḍa-* "young man" (*taruṇa ity anye*, Deśīn. 6, 96), *vodraha-* (*bodraha-*) [138]), *voraccha-*, id. (7, 80), *vaḷḷa-*, m. "child" (*śiśuḥ* 7, 31), Nep. *bhunu* "very small, insignificant" (cf. Beng. *ṭuṇī* "little girl" from *ḍa-ḍa*), *bhure* "small, young", *bhuro* "a small boy", *burce* "dwarfish, shortish, dwarf", *burco* "dwarf". — With a different vowel: Hi. *beṭā* "son, boy, child, a form of address used by *faqīrs* towards their *celās* or disciples", a Munda rhyme-word of **ceṭa*; cf. Pkt. *ceḍa-*, *cilla-* "*bālaḥ*", Mar. *ceḍā* "son", Hi. *celā* "servant, slave, pupil, disciple" (Skr. *ceṭa-*, *ceṭaka-* "servant") and S. *ceṇḍa*, *ṭeṇḍa* "young" : *ceṭra* "dwarfish". Hence Chatterji's suggestion (pp. 328, 491: **beṭṭa-* < *vetra*, cf. *vaṁśa-*) is to be rejected. See Turner s.v. *beṭo*. With initial aspirate: Pkt. *bhelī-* "female servant" (*ceṭī*, Deśīn. 6, 110); but *bhuttūṇa-* "servant" (*bhṛtyaḥ* 6, 106) is ambiguous (from a Proto-Munda echo-word **buṭ-ṭuṇ*, cf. Beng. *ṭuṇī*?), cf. *vaṇṭha-* (*akṛtavivāhaḥ ... khaṇḍo ... bhṛtyaś ca* 7, 83);

with *p*: Pkt. *phiḍḍa-*, m. "dwarf" (*vāmanaḥ* Deśīn. 6, 84), *paṭoa-*, m. "boy" (*bālaḥ* 6, 9), *peṇḍaa-*, m. "young man" (*taruṇaḥ*, *ṣaṇḍhaḥ* 6, 53), identical with *peṇḍa-*, n. "*khaṇḍam*" (6, 81); Nep. *phuco* "small, small boy", *phuce* "small boy", *phuci* "small girl" (: Ass. *phusuṅ* "worthless", cf. S. *phuci* "small, little", *phuciạ* "small-buttocked"). Skr. *pota-*, *potaka-*, m. "young of an animal or plant" is a comparatively young word [139]). Hence it is very doubtful that it represents an ancient IE. variant of *putrá-*, Av. *puθra-*, as the manuals of IE. linguistics usually assume (e.g. Walde-

---

[135]) Cf. Pa. *khujja-* < Skr. *kubja-*.

[136]) See also Turner s.v. *phosro*.

[137]) Wackernagel I, 184 rightly assumes a foreign origin. Cf. S. *baṭuạ* "servant"? (Erroneous connexion with Old Church Slav. *bolъ* by Scheftelowitz, KZ. 53, 250 f.).

[138]) For the Munda suffix *-ha-*, see *kalaha-*, *gaṇotsāha-*, *laḍaha-*, *maṭaha-*.

[139]) It is still rare in Rām. (*mṛgapotaka-* 3, 61, 5 Bomb.), and Mhbh. (*śālapota-*). Schmidt, Nachtr., gives *pota-* "small child, babe" (Yaśastil.).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Pokorny II, 76, Specht, Der Ursprung der idg. Deklination 206, 220: Lett. *putns* "bird", etc.). Wackernagel, Sitz. ber. Preuss. Akad. 1918, 391 n., explains *pota-* as a Middle Indian form of *putra-*. It cannot, however, be separated from *poṭaka-*, m. "servant" (schol. on Kāty. S'S.), *poṭā-*, *voṭā-* "female servant" (Hemac., Halāy.), "hermaphrodite" (Harṣac.). Moreover, the meaning "young plant" points rather to a word with the general meaning "small". Now Hindi has, besides *poā* "a nursling of any animal, plant" and *pot*, which are derived (resp. borrowed) from the Skr. word [140]), also *poṭā* "the young of an animal, an unfledged bird, young children", which is in my opinion a direct borrowing from Munda (cf. the parallel instance Skr. *pŭta-* : Hi. *pūṭh*, *puṭṭhā* "buttock"). Pa. *pillaka-* "young of an animal" is ambiguous: either with Pkt. *phiḍḍa-* from *wa-ḍa*, or a Drav. loanword (Tam. *piḷḷai*, Kann. *piḷḷe*), unless the Drav. words are also of Proto-Munda origin (see p. 106);

with initial *m*: Hi. *moṛā* "a shaveling, 'dial. a boy", Bilaspuri *muṇḍū* "boy", etc. But *maḍūṣikā-* "a dwarfish girl, unfit for marriage" (Āp. GS., vv. ll., *maṭ-*, *maṇḍ-*, *madh-*, *mandh-*) is hardly connected.

In this connexion we may draw attention to an ancient word for "small", viz. *phalgú-* "minute, weak" (since Vāj. S.), *phalgvà-* "small, weak" (ṚS. 4, 5, 14), Pa. *pheggu-* "worthless, inferior wood". Neither the connexion with Greek *φελγύνει· ἀσυνετεῖ, ληρεῖ*, nor that with *sphūrj-* (see Fick I⁴ 150) is acceptable. Moreover, the cases in which an initial aspirated surd can with certainty be traced back to prim. Indo-European are extremely rare. Like its homonym *phalgú-* "reddish", *phalgú-* "minute" stands for **phaḍ-gu* and is connected with S. *peḍgo* "dwarfish, short", *beṭkec'* "weak, tender, young, inexperienced" (note the same guttural suffix; cf. also *khaḍ-gá-* "rhinoceros").

Among the derivatives from *ḍa-ḍa* there are some which mean "solitary". It is doubtful, therefore, if Nep. *phiṭṭe* "separate, alone" should be derived from Pkt. *phiṭṭai* "falls, is broken" (Turner s.v.) and, accordingly, be separated from Nep. *phuṭṭa* "separate", *phuṭṭo* "alone, separate, apart", *phuṛkaro* "separate, odd, extra". See below Skr. *chamaṇḍa-* "solitary person" and cf. the echo-word Nep. *chuṭṭo-puṭṭo* "divided up, separated" (*ḍa-ḍa* + *wa-ḍa*, see p. 81).

Skr. *kavandha-*, *kabandha-*, m.n., "headless trunk" occurs since the younger Vedic prose, see Renou, J. As. 1939, 390 f.; cf. adj. *kāvandha-* (S'iś.), Pa. *kavandha-* "the (headless) trunk of the body endowed with the power of motion; a headless dwarf, whose head has been crushed down into his body", Pkt. *kamandha-* (Pischel § 250) and Tam. *kavantam* "headless body, demon, stump of a tree". See Wackernagel II, 1, 84 and Charpentier, Monde Or. 18, 13 (Kirste, SB. Wien. Ak. 132, 1895, p. 32, compares *kavandha-* with Gr. *Κάανθος*!). Renou holds this word to be identical with Ved. *kábandha-* "barrel, cask" ("belly" Ath. S.). I strongly

---

[140]) See Turner s.v. *pothi*.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

doubt that we have to do with one and the same word, the meaning "trunk" being a further development of "belly"; the meaning "stump of a tree" in Tamil and its synonym *ruṇḍa-*, which is a Proto-Munda word, point in a different direction and suggest an original sense "stunted". *Kábandha-* will accordingly contain the Proto-Munda prefix *ka-* and the "Aryanized" form of Pkt. *bhaṇḍa-* "decapitated".

3. Besides Skr. *madrā-kṛ-* and Hi. *moṛā* quoted above there are many more words with initial nasalization in Aryan. Thus Skr. *maṭaha-* "little, poor" (Yaśastil.), Pkt. *maḍahaṁ* "small" (*laghu* Deśīn. 6, 117) are apparently related to, e.g., Nep. *phuco* "small" and Pkt. *phella-* "poor" (pp. 99, 98; Pa. *atimaṭāhaka-* "short" is of doubtful spelling and meaning). The suffix *-ha-* is a certain indication of Proto-Munda origin.

Marathi has, beside *maṭgā* "too small" (cf. S. *peḍgo*, Skr. *phalgú-*), also *māṭkulā* "small", which seems to contain a suffix *-ulā* (Bloch 381 does not discuss either the guttural or *-ulā*). On the other hand, Skr. lex. *matkuṇa-*, m. "a beardless man, an elephant without tusks, a small elephant" [141]), *matkuṇā-* "pudendum sine pube" (see s.v. *kuṇṭhá-* "blunt, dull") look like being derivatives from *kuṭ-/kuṇ-* with prefix *mat-*. In reality, both will be combinations of *maṭ-* (root *wa-ḍa*) and *kuṇ/kul-* (root *ga-ḍa*). Cf. Pkt. *maṭṭa-* "hornless" (*śṛṅgavihīnaḥ* Deśīn. 6, 112) [142]) and Hi. *māṛā*, *māṛiyā* "weak, lean, thin, poor, worthless, trifling, mean, low" (a morphological parallel to *nāṛā* "stubble" from *ḍa-ḍa*).

In several Munda word-families we meet with a semantic development from "defective, blunt" to "lazy, stupid", e.g. from *ḍa-ḍa*: M. *ḍoṇḍo*, S. *thoto*, *ṭoya*, *loṛo* "stupid, idiotic" (cf. Pa. *dandha-* ~ Nep. *laṇṭha*, id.). Hence S. *bhoṇḍol* "inefficacious, slow", *bhōṇḍ bhoṅglaha* "slothful, fat and lazy" (contamination with *ba-ḍa* and *ba-ga* "fat"), *boḍ boḍo* "lazy, idle" [143]), *bhoto* "stupid, ignorant,", *bhucuṅ* "ignorant, stupid, loafing about", *bhoṭṛo* "blunt, dull, dull-witted", *bhoco* "stupid, foolish", M. *bāṇṭhā* "stupid, dull" and Hi. *bhorā*, *bholā* "silly, stupid", Nep. *bhuccuk* "ignorant, foolish, wild" (: Ass. *bhosoko* "stumpy") are clearly derived from *wa-ḍa* "blunt" [144]).

---

[141]) See Turner s.v. *makunu*, id. (but *matkuṇa-* "bug" is a different word, see p. 41 f.) and Hobson-Jobson s.v. *muckna*.

[142]) From Tam. *moṭṭai* "hornless" according to P.V. Ramanujaswami, Deśīnāmamālā Introd. 8 and Glossary. But see p. 103 f.

[143]) S. *boṇḍo* "foolish, stupid" is again a rhyme-word of M Ho *ḍoṇḍo* "fool, foolish, stupid, ignorant" (cf. *bhoṇḍo* "blunt", Campb.). In S. *loṛo boto*, id. derivatives from both roots are combined. Cf. also Hi. *ṭhos* "dense, dull, obtuse" which bears the same relation to Hi. *ṭhoṭ* "dense, obtuse, stupid" as, e.g., Nep. *ṭhoso* "stalk remaining in the ground, stubble" does to Nep. *ṭhuṭo* "stump" (Hi. *ṭhosā* and Lhd. *ṭhuṭṭh* are prob. "penis-words", like those which Tedesco discusses in his paper). With initial assibilation: Skr. lex. *śoṭha-* "*alasaḥ, mūrkhaḥ, dhūrtaḥ, nīcaḥ*" and possibly *jaḍa-* "apathetic, stupid, idiotic", if orig. different from *jaḍa-* "cold, cool"(?).

[144]) Many words for "foolish" derived from *wa-ḍa* are recorded by Turner s.v. *bhutte* "blunt". Only a few examples are here quoted.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Pkt. *maṭṭha-* and *marāla-* mean "lazy" (*alasaḥ*, Deśīn. 6, 112). As for *maṭṭha-*, the editor of the Deśīn., Paravastu Venkata Ramanujaswami, does not decide between derivation from Skr. *mṛṣṭa-* (thus Turner s.v. *māṭho* "slow") or Drav. *maḍḍi* (= Tel. Kann. *maḍḍi* "stupid, dull, awkward person", see K. Amrita Row, Ind. Ant. 46, 35). But Kshm. *moṭh*" "dull", Ass. *māṭh* "blunt, slow", Panj. *maṭṭhā* "blunt", Si. *maṭho* "dull, weak" leave no doubt as to their Munda origin; cf. especially Or. *maṭhuā* : S. *maṭhuạ, maṭhọ* "dull, lazy", *mạndhuạ* "impotent, dull", *mạsuạ* "indolent, lazy, impotent". For Skr. lex. *vaṭhara-* Ujjvaladatta gives the meaning "*mūrkhaḥ*" whereas Trikāṇḍaśeṣa and Hemac. render "*śaṭhaḥ*"; besides Trik. provides the meaning *mandaḥ* "lazy". Is *manda-* itself connected with *baṇḍá-*? Fick and Uhlenbeck compared OChSl. *mọditi* „cunctari", *mọdъnъ* "tardus" but the nasalization of these words is secondary, the variant *muditi* representing the original form of the word (Vondrák, Slavische Grammatik I, 153, van Wijk, Geschichte der altkirchenslavischen Sprache I, 142 and cf. Miklosich, Etym. Wörterb. der slav. Sprachen 1886, p. 206). The connexion with *manda-*, still upheld in Walde–Pokorny II, 305 f., is accordingly to be abandoned. It should be added that the meaning of *manda-* is "dull, inert, weak, small, little, slow, lazy, tardy, stupid" (since Mhbh. Rām.), and that there exists a variant *manthara-*, id., which is either separated from *manda-* (Walde–Pokorny, l.c.) or connected with it on the assumption of a root *men-* (cf. Uhlenbeck s.v., Kuiper, Die indogerm. Nasalpräsentia 141, n. 6). Since *manda-* and *manthara-* have no clear cognates in Indo-European, the connexion with *baṇḍá-*, which allows us to account both for their form and their meaning, offers the most satisfactory solution [145]). The decerebralization may reflect a dialectal development of Munda. Different is the case of *badhirá-* "deaf" (since the ṚS.). This word, too, is without IE. cognates (see Walde–Pokorny II, 190). Since the general meaning "defective" (Turner s.v. *bhutte* "blunt"!) can apply to all sorts of defects (cf. *kaḍá-*, *kala-* "dumb", *kaṇva-* "deaf", *kāṇá-* "one-eyed" from *ga-ḍa*), *badhirá-* may be a derivative from *wa-ḍa*, with substitution of the dental for the cerebral as in many Rigvedic words. This explanation, merely hypothetical in itself, finds some support in the occurrence of Hi. *bahilā*, Nep. *bailo* "barren, sterile (esp. of cattle)" by the side of Hi. *bahirā*, Nep. *bairo* "deaf, inattentive". This variant suggests that *badhirá-* originally had a wider sense (which was preserved in the dialect from which **badhila-* originates). Cf. also Kann. *hoṭṭa* "a deaf man" : *hoṭṭu*, *poṭṭu* "chaff, husk" (= Skr. *busa-*, see above).

4. The most difficult word-group is no doubt Skr. *muṇḍa-* "shaved, bald, hornless, lopped (tree), pointless; bald-head" (since Mhbh., Rām., Yājñav., Var. BS.), *muṇḍin-* "shaven-headed" (Mhbh., Hariv.), *muṇḍaka-*,

---

[145]) Additional data, which confirm this explanation, are the diphthong in Mar. *maīd* (a Munda phenomenon), the meaning of Sgh. *maṁda* "small" and Nep. *matthar* "dim, dull, dark" (rhyme-word of Hi. *laṭṭhar* "slow, lazy").

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

m. "trunk or stem of a tree" (Vyāsa), *muṇḍayati* "shaves" (Pāṇ. etc.). The fundamental problem, already apparent in the case of Pkt. *maṭṭha-* (see n. 142), is: how is the existence of two parallel word-families in Dravidian and Munda to be accounted for? *Muṇḍa-* is usually derived from IE. **mel-d-*, cf. Gr. *ἀμαλδύνω* (thus Fortunatov and Bühler, see Wackernagel I, 167, Uhlenbeck, Petersson, Studien zu Fortunatovs Regel 5, 54), which was only slightly modified by Lidén, Studien zur altind. und vergl. Sprachgeschichte 88 f: *mel-* "to cut", cf. Russ. *molit'* (but cf. Wüst, Indisch 94, Walde–Pokorny II, 87: *muṇḍa-* lit. "attritus", from *mel-* "to rub"). Recently, however, two different theories have been forwarded. Thieme, ZDMG. 93 (1939) 135, derives *muṇḍa-* from **mṛmṣṭa-* (on the supposition of a very doubtful phonetic law) and connects it with *paṇḍita-*, whereas Tedesco, JAOS. 65, 1945, 82—98, devotes a very detailed study to this word and its cognates, which he derives from Skr. *vṛddha-* "cut". Przyluski, on the other hand, connected *muṇḍa-* with S. *muṇḍlạ*, etc., Pkt. *bhaṇḍu-* and other words with initial *b* (some of them being of doubtful connexion with this word-family, e.g. Malay *butak*), see BSL. 30 (1930) 199. In a previous paper of his, Tedesco had rejected this explanation as far as *muṇḍa-* is concerned and declared the Santali correspondents to be loans (Language 19, 1943, 16, n. 71). In his later study he accordingly ignores the problem of the Munda words (see p. 83, n. 15). Still, the chief difficulty lies, not in the supposed phonetic developments of Aryan, but in the relation between Munda and Dravidian.

Apart from such apparent loanwords as Tam. *muṇṭam* "bald head, skull, headless trunk, naked person", Tel. *muṇḍamu* "the head cut off from the neck, a shaven pate, a bald head, the trunk of a lopped tree", *muṇḍuḍu* "monk", etc., we find e.g.:

with vowel o: Tam. *moṭṭai* "bald head, shaven head, bluntness, as of a knife, stupidity, dullness, complete barrenness, unmarried young man" (cf. above Skr. *vaṇṭha-*), *moṭṭ-ampu* "blunt arrow", *moṭṭai-maram* "barren, unyielding tree, tree completely stripped of its fruits, leaves, etc.", *moṇṇaṉ* "bald-headed person", *moṇṇai* "baldness, bluntness", *moṇṇaiyaṉ* "dullard, idiot", *mottu*, id., *mōḷai* "hornless or dehorned cattle, anything defective, stump, block, stupidity", *mōḷaimai*, *mōṭu* "stupidity", *mōṭaṉ* "fool, blockhead", *mūḷi* "defect of limb, deformity", etc.; Tel. *moṇḍi* "stubborn, obstinate, maimed, defective, imperfect, bare, lopped", *moṇḍu* "stubborn, obstinate, maimed, crippled", *moṇḍemu* "a stump, trunk of a body after the head is lopped off, a separate member" (cf. Skr. *kábandha-*), *mōṭa* "dull, stupid, simple", *mōṭu*, "id., a stump, block, trunk", *mōḍu* "a stump of a tree", *moddu* "blunt, not sharp, dull, stupid, stubborn, a block, stump, mass, blockhead"; Kann. *mōṭu* "the state of being short, stumpy, maimed; stump of a tree, stubble", *moddu* "bluntness, stupidity"; etc. There are some variants with initial *n*, e.g. Tam. *noṇṭu-* "to be lame, limp, hobble", *noṇṭi* "a lame person or creature" (: *moṇṭi* "lame"). Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 333,

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

609, holds that before o and *u* an initial *n* could become *m* in Dravidian. This may perhaps be correct in the case of some of the other instances (although it is often rather difficult to decide which sound is the original one) but the circumstance that *n-* is here only found in words with following *-ṇḍ-* suggests that, in this case at least, we have rather to do with delabialization. Moreover many variants with initial labial occur, e.g. Tam. *pōṭu* "baldness, shaven condition", *poṭṭal* "baldness, barren tract, waste land", Kann. *bōlu* "bald, the state of being shaved, a bare, leafless, treeless state", *bōḷe* "the state of being without hair", *bōḷi* "a head-shaven woman, a widow", *bōḍu* "toothless state", *bōḍi* "a toothless woman, one who is bare, or destitute of hairs, or of horns", *boṭṭa* "stump" (from Mar.?), Tel. *bōḍa*, *bōḍi* "bald, bare, hornless, cropt, tuskless" (cf. *poṭṭi* "short, small in size", Tam. *poṭuku* "smallness", *poṭi* "anything small"?), Kui *buṭuli* "short, of a small stature", *būndi* "cut short, cropped", etc.;

with vowel *a*: Tam. *maḷi-* "to shave (the head)", *maḷu* "blunt, bald, bare", *maḷuku-* "to become blunt", *maṭi-* "to be turned, as an edge or a point", *maṭivu-* "to blunt", *maṇṭu* "fool", *maṇṇai* "bluntness, ignorant, stupid person", *maṇai* "blunt instrument, bluntness", *maṇaiyaṉ* "dull person, blunt weapon", etc.; Tel. *maṭṭamu* "small, scanty", *maḍḍi* "foul, dull, stupid, akward", *madaṭa* "a stupid rustic", etc.; Kann. *maḍḍi* "stupid, dull, awkward person", *maṭa* "stupidity, ignorance", *maṭṭa* "shortness, smallness". Cf. Skr. *malvá-* (< **maḍu-a*, cf. S. *maṭho*, *maṭhuā*, "dull, lazy", *maśúḍa* "indolent, lazy, impotent") [146]) and *māṣa-* "foolish". With initial *p/b*: Kann. *baṭā*, *baṭṭa* "barrenness, voidness", Tel. *baḍi* "slight, petty", *baḍugu* "poor, lean", *paḍucu* "young", *paṭṭi* "child", Tam. *paṟuki* "shortness, stuntedness".

It would serve no purpose to add more examples. It may however be noted that also words with *-i*, *e* occur, e.g. Tel. *pēḍi* "a hermaphrodite, impotent man", *pēḍevāḍu* "a smock-faced beardless man, a hermaphrodite", *pēda* "poor, indigent, slender, lean, thin, scanty", *picca* "madness, folly", *piccagāvuṇḍē* "foolish, mad, short, deficient in measure or weight", *picci* "mad, foolish, silly, fruitless, vain", *piccuguṇṭu* "a cripple, a lame man", *bīḍu* "waste, base, low, barren land", *pīda* "poor, scanty, lean, small", *pīla* "poor, scanty, short, lean", *bēla* "simple, ignorant", Kann. *peḷava* "lame man, cripple", *bicce* "a barren woman", *picu* "shortness, smallness", *picce* "shortness, deficiency in measure or weight" (: *puṭṭa* "smallness, littleness, etc."), etc.

In Santali we find, beside the words with initial *w*, *b*, *p* quoted above, e.g. *meḍoṛaṅ*, *meṇḍoṛeaṅ*, *mẹṇḍọṛeaṅ* "beardless, to shave away the beard", *mãeṛã* "clean-shaven", *moeḍoṅ*, *moidoṅ*, *mon'doṅ* "bare, bald", *marca* "bare, physically poor, deteriorated, puny" (from **maṛ-aca*, cf. dial.

---

146) Otherwise Scheftelowitz, KZ. 53, 267 (Av. *mruta-*, Gr. *ἀμβλύς*) with bibl.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

narca, id. = Skr. *nārāca-*, see p. 81); *mandhuą* "impotent, dull" [147]), *mąsuą* "indolent, lazy, impotent", which point to a word **maḍu*, represented by *maṭhọ*, *maṭhuą* "dull, lazy", and *mīṛū* "brimless, rimless (of vessels having no outstanding lip)"; *murchąu* "to cut off, cut round and off the top or end, to dress end by paring" (M. *murchao* "to cut off"), So. *múttā-sī-* "stump of a hand", etc. Note the parallelism between *muṇḍhą* "blunt", *muṇḍgą*, *muṇḍguc'*, *muṇḍgut'* (*moṇḍgoc'*, *mōṛgoc'*, *muṛguc'*, *moṇḍgot'*, *mōṛgot'*, *muṛgut'*), *muṇḍlą*, *muṇḍrą*, *muṇḍruc'*, etc. "close-clipped, polled, branchless, hornless, bare (tree), to cut short, to bare, etc." and *duṇḍą*, *duṇḍgą*, *duṇḍguc'*, *duṇḍlą*, *duṇḍrą*, id. (from *ḍa-ḍa*). Other instances of this morphological parallelism, which is a characteristic feature of Munda, have been pointed out above. — A prefixed derivative is, it seems, S. *ṭąmuṭi* "to cut off the top of paddy (or other crops) before the general harvest, to eat a little before do.", cf. M. *ṭāmuti* "untrained, inexperienced" (lit. blunt?). But the same "prefix" is possibly contained in Skr. lex. *chamaṇḍa-*, m. "fatherless child, a man who is alone in the world, without relatives", *chemaṇḍa-* "fatherless child" and in Skr. lex. *samūru-* (Amara), *samūra-* (Hemac.), *camūru-* (both) "deer". The first word may be compared to Skr. lex. *vaṇṭha-* "unmarried", *vaṇṭhate* "*ekacaryāyām*, to go alone", Si. *vāṇḍho* "a bachelor or widower without family". Particularly interesting is Hi. *murhā* "orphan", since Proto-Munda words for "orphan" are often derived from roots with the meaning "stripped, bare", cf. S. *ṭuąr* Nep. *ṭuhuro*, id. (see p. 75). As for *camūru-*, etc., we may compare Pkt. *muṇḍā-* "a female deer" (*mṛgī*, Deśīn. 6, 133), Nep. *muruli* "female deer, doe" (: *murulo* "hornless, hairless, bald"), and further Skr. *ruru-*, Greek *ϰεμάς* " hind" ~ Skr. *śáma-* "hornless" [148]) (which are, no doubt, likewise connected with Dutch *hamel* "castrated ram", Old Engl. *homol* "maimed", *homelian* "to mutilate", Old Frisian *hemma*, id., Goth. *hamfs* "maimed"). In view of these words *ṭąmuṭi* must possibly be explained as a blending of *ḍa-wa* (> *ṭam-*) and *wa-ḍa* (> *-muṭ*).

The striking parallelism of the Dravidian and Munda word-families cannot reasonably be assigned to a mere chance coincidence. If Burrow's assumption of a Dravidian ablaut *a* : *i* : *u* is correct, the vocalism does not allow us to decide the origin of these words. As for the nasalization, it is, I think, strongly suggestive of Proto-Munda origin but since there are instances of initial *v* having become *m* in Dravidian, the Dravidian words could be accounted for by assuming a double development, viz. *v* > *m*, and *v* > *b* (> *p*); even the prefixation found in some Munda words affords no conclusive proof as the word-group must have passed from one of the two families of speech into the other at a very early date. Still the various facts suggest a derivation from Proto-Munda *wa-ḍa*, the most important indication being the far-going parallelism which exists between the

---

147) Rhyme-word of *laṇḍhuą* "lazy, sluggish, indolent" from *ḍa-ḍa*.

148) See Lüders, Philologia Indica 591 ff.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

derivatives from *ḍa-ḍa* and *wa-ḍa*. Since there is some reason to suppose that such parallel roots as *ga-ḍa*, *ḍa-ḍa*, *wa-ḍa* are ultimately prefixed formations which contain the same word-kernel *-ḍa* [149]), and since cognates of *ḍa-ḍa* seem to exist in Mon-Khmer (see s.v. *śuṇṭhā-*; cf. also Semang *bĕlut*, Pangan Ulu Aring *mĕlüd*, Bahnar *löt* "blunt" [150]), we must conclude that *wa-ḍa* is also a native Austro-Asiatic root [151]).

This conclusion is obviously of fundamental interest. The possibility that the South Dravidian languages contain Proto-Muṇda words has not seriously been considered hitherto: Ramaswami Aiyar mentions only one instance of a possible "Austric" word adopted by South Dravidian (Tam. *tavakkai*, etc. "frog", see Ojhā-Volume, p. 16, n. 1) [152]). If however our conclusion is correct (and many similar cases discussed in this book tend to show that it is so), we must reckon with the possibility that even such seemingly native words as Tam. *piḷḷai*, Tel. *pille*, Kann. *piḷḷe*, etc. "small, petty, child, young of an animal" are ultimately of foreign origin. It further corroborates the conclusion drawn from the occurrence of non-Aryan proper names in the Rigveda, that the Proto-Munda population must in former times have occupied an important and powerful position (see Acta Or. 17, 309). I am convinced, indeed, that a considerable part of the South Dravidian vocabulary is of Proto-Munda origin, just as is the case with Middle Indian and the modern Aryan vernaculars. It should be borne in mind that, since the earliest works of the Tamil literature are now generally assigned to the first centuries of our era, the testimony of these texts is worthless in this respect: some two thousands years (or more) of prehistoric intercourse between Proto-Dravidians and Proto-Mundas must have elapsed before the beginnings of the Saṅgam literature. On the other hand, some Dravidian words have, no doubt, been borrowed by the Munda languages. This influence has been particularly strong in the Southern dialects (Sora) and in the mixed dialect Nahali. Kurku, too, has a number of Dravidian words which do not occur in Kherwari. In these cases we have apparently to do with comparatively recent borrowings of each of the separate Munda dialects. It remains to be seen, if there is also a common stratum of Dravidian loanwords dating back to an earlier period.

5. For the NIA. equivalents I may refer to Turner s.v. *muṛo*, and to Tedesco's paper. They show many interesting meanings which are un-

---

149) See "Munda and Indonesian" (cf. p. 40, n. 44).

150) Similarly Mon *kut*, *sakut* "to cut", *kun* "dwarf" may be connected with Proto-Munda *ga-ḍa*.

151) The following Mon words may *possibly* be connected with *wa-ḍa* : *samot* "to be small, young, a little one, a babe, a child" (*samot* "ant" is a different word, cf. Malay *sĕmut*, S. *muc'*, So. *muidā-*), *wut* "young woman, virgin", *lemēn* "crippled, a cripple". See further s.v. *kamaṭha-*.

152) Burrow, BSOAS, 11, 597, admits the possibility of a very early Proto-Munda influence dating back to the period before Proto-Dravidian split up into the various languages.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

known in Sanskrit and confirm our explanation, e.g. Hi. *muṇḍā* "shaven, not pointed", *murlā* "toothless", *murhā* "orphan", and *muthrā* "blunt, dull, silly, foolish" (: Nep. *matthar* "slow, dim, dull"). The last word alone is sufficient to show the inadequacy of Tedesco's theory. Skr. *bhāṇḍila-* "barber" (S'KDr.) is prob. á rhyme-word of Skr. *caṇḍila-*, id. (see p. 78).

54. *budbuda-*, m. "a bubble (in water, or in general)".

This word occurs in the epics and the class. literature; it also denotes an embryo of five days (Nir. 14, 6, etc.). Most authorities consider it an onomatopoea, see Pet. Dict., Wackernagel I, 182, Uhlenbeck (but see Persson, Beiträge zur idg. Wortforschung 352 f.); it is then compared with similar formations as Greek *βομβυλίς*, *πομφόλυξ*, Latin *bulla*, Lith. *burbulas*, *bumbulas*, Pol. *bąbel*, Czech. *boubel*, *bublina*, Dan. *boble*, Engl. *bubble*, etc. See Walde–Pokorny II, 114 ff. and, for the Baltic and Slavonic words, Trautmann, Balt. Slav. Wörterbuch 39.

An analysis of the Indian data, however, points to the conclusion that *budbuda-* stands for **buḍbuḍa-*, cf. Pa. *bubbuḷa-*, *bubbuḷaka-*, *bubbula-*, *poṭa-*, *poṭha-*, Pkt. *bulambulā* (Deśīn. 6, 95), Hi. *buṛbuṛā*, *bulbulā*, *balūlā*, *bullā*, "a bubble", Tel. *buḍḍa* "a bubble, the disease called rupture [153]), Kann. *buḍa* "a sound in imitation of that produced by a vessel, etc., when immersed into water". The Pkt. form is particularly interesting as it seems to represent a Proto-Munda formation **buḍa buḍa*. But Skr. *buḍabuḍa-*, an "onomatopoeic" word, of a vessel sinking down in water (Hem. Par. 12, 91) may belong to *buḍ-* "to sink down".

Cf. S. *baḍac' buḍuc'*, *barac' buruc'*, *biḍic' biḍic'*, *buḍuc' buḍuc'* "bubbling here and there, to bubble", *bur buḍuc'*, *bur buḍruc'* "bubblingly, to bubble", *bẹḍẹc' bẹḍẹc'*, id., *poḍo poḍo* "with a bubbling sound, to make do.", *poḍroḳ'* "to make a bubbling sound", *ludu budu* "bubblingly (the sound of millet being boiled)", M. *baḍa buḍu* "to bubble, whisper", etc.

Skr. *barbura-*, n., *bubura-*, m. (Naigh. 1, 12) "water" are possibly derived from a root *baḍ-/buḍ-*, cf. lex. *bādara-*, n. id., Hem. (the connexion with Greek *βόρβορος* "mud, mire" should no doubt be given up). Like So. *ĕ-bu-bŭ-* "foam", however, they are probably unrelated to *budbuda-*.

55. *bhṛmalá-*.

The word *bhṛmalá-* occurs only once in a hymn to the Earth of the Atharva-Veda (12, 1, 46):

yás te sarpó vṛ́ścikas tṛṣṭádaṁśmā
hemantájabdho bhṛmaló gúhā śáye, etc.

---

153) Tel. *buḍḍa* is a contamination of two different words, the second being identical with Kann. *buḍḍe*, Tam. *puṭṭā* "swollen testicle" (see further s.v. *picchā-*). Tel. *buḍḍa* "bubble", however, has no equivalent in Tamil and is likely to be a more recent Munda loanword.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

The Paippalāda text has *bhramalo* (for parallel instances with *ra* for *ṛ*, see Vedic Variants, II, 305 f.). The commentary of Sāyaṇa is wanting for this passage. Roth (Pet. Dict.) derived it, together with *bhṛmá-* "Verirrung", from the root *bhram-* and conjectured a meaning "stunted, torpid" from the context. This translation has been accepted by most scholars, as Bloomfield, Henry, and Whitney. The last renders the verse as follows: "What stinging harsh-biting serpent of thine lies in secret, winter-harmed, torpid (?) ... (let that, crawling, not crawl upon us)". But the supposed relationship to *bhṛmá-* (accepted by Wackernagel I, 71) is fallacious as the real sense of the last word seems rather to be "der rasch sich Tummelnde" (Oldenberg, Noten, ad 7, 1, 22). A similar meaning has been assumed for *bhṛmalá-* by Ludwig, viz. "der rasch sich hin und her Schlagelnde" but this interpretation, which is merely based on a problematical etymology, is hardly correct. Tarapada Chowdhury, it is true, identifies *bhṛmalá-* with *bhramara-* on account of the variant reading *bhramala-* of the Paippalāda text and Keśava's commentary on the Kauśika Sūtra, which renders it *bhramaraḥ*. He accordingly translates the Ath. Vedic verse as follows: "The serpent, the scorpion, the harsh-biting (mosquito), the bee of thee, that, pressed by winter lie in concealment; whatever worm, being lively, O earth, stirs up in the early rainy season, let that crawling not crawl on to us, favour us with that which is propitious". See JBORS. 17 (1931), p. 87 f.

Keśava's interpretation, which is based on the assumption of an asyndeton (*sarpá-, vṛścika-, tṛṣṭádaṁśman-*, and *bhṛmalá-* denoting in his opinion different animals) is open to doubt. Moreover, as the passage refers to crawling animals (cf. *tán naḥ sárpan mópasṛpad*), bees are not the animals which one would expect to be meant here. On the other hand, the vacillation between *bhṛ-* and *bhra-* (if any weight is to be laid on this variant reading at all) is found in several words of Proto-Munda origin, as in *bhṛkuṭi-* and *bhrakuṭi-*, *bhṛkuṁśa-* and *bhrakuṁśa-*, see Acta Orientalia 16, 295 ff. The morphological aspect of *bhṛmalá-* suggests a similar origin for this word, in which case *bhṛ-* may be regarded as a prefix, whereas *-mala-* then must be connected with S. *dholo molo* "dull, unwell, out of sorts", M. *ḍholo molo* "drowsy", and the other words quoted s.v. *kaśmala-*. This explanation leads us to assign to *bhṛmalá-* nearly the same sense as Roth assumed, viz. "drowsy, stunned".

The morphological analysis of Proto-Munda words leaves however so much room for different interpretations as to make an attempt to explain Sanskrit words of unknown meaning a hazardous enterprise. There is however one fact which justifies the foregoing attempt at an explanation of *bhṛmalá-*, and which seems to confirm Roth's suggestion as to its meaning, viz. Nepali *bhimal* "unconscious, fainting, fit", which is evidently the same word. Its occurrence in Nepali proves that *bhṛmalá-* belongs to those Atharva-Vedic words of a more popular character which the Vedic language has in common with the modern vernaculars (see Turner, Nep.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Dict., Pref. p. VII and Introduction, p. XV). Tarapada Chowdhury's interpretation is accordingly to be rejected. As a matter of fact, whoever reads the passage with an unprejudiced mind will, I think, accept the common view as being most natural, viz. that *tṛṣṭádaṁśmā, hemantájabdho* and *bhṛmaló* are epithets of the *sarpó vṛścikaḥ*. From the fact (referred to by Tarapada Chowdhury, p. 88) that *tṛpradaṁśin-* occurs elsewhere as an epithet of *maśáka-*, the mosquito, it does not follow that *tṛṣṭádaṁśmā* here denotes the same insect (as Keśava took it to be). We may rather conclude that here too it is merely an epithet.

56. *mukura-*, m. "a mirror".

Only in the class. language. Lexicographical works quote also *makura-, maṅkura-, karkara-, karphara-*, and *karka-*. The last word may be an inferential form, deduced from *karkara-*, cf. *dundu-* "drum", inferred from *dundubhi-, khikhi-* "fox" from **khikhira-* (see *khiṅkira-*), etc. As for *karphara-*, it is no doubt a misreading for *karkara-* owing to the close resemblance of the akṣaras *pha* and *ka*. Cf. further Pkt. *maüra-* (from **makura-*, Pischel § 123).

Unlike *mukula-* "bud" (which is a derivative from the Dravidian root *mug-, muk-*), *mukura-* has no similarities in Dravidian. On the other hand, the vowel-variation in *mukura-* : *makura-* and the synonym *karkara-*, which points to a root *kar-, kur-*, are indications of Proto-Munda origin. The meaning of the root *kur-* must then have been "to see", cf. Skr. *ādarśa-*, Greek *κάτοπτρον*, Latin *speculum*, Russian *zérkalo* (: *sozercát'* "to contemplate"), Engl. *looking-glass*, etc.

The root *kar-* is found in S. *kare dhaṛe, kare dheṛe* "staring, fixedly (look)". Hence, in *aṛit' kurit'* "to look round, stare about, gape, glance rapidly around", the second word is no mere jingle of *aṛit'* (which is connected with *aṛi baṇdhi* "to look carefully, watch, scrutinize", *arak' orok'* "gaping, staring", M. *āriḍ'* "to gaze, look at", N. *arā* "to see") but is a derivative of the same root *kar-, kur-*.

57. *meṇḍ(h)a-*, m. "ram".

A late word, only recorded (with many variants) in lex. works. Besides *meṇḍha-* (Halāy.) we find *meṇḍhaka-* (Hemac.), *meṇḍa-* (Rājanigh.), *meṇḍhra-*, and forms without nasal: *meḍhra-* (Amara), *meḍhraka-* (Trik.), *meṭha-* (S'abdārthakalpataru), cf. Hi. *meṭhā*; Pa. *meṇḍa-*, Pkt. *meḍḍha-, meṁḍha-, miṁḍha-, meṇḍa-*, fem. also *meṁṭhī-*. An etymological connexion between *meṇḍha-* and its synonym *bheḍa-* (Hemac.), *bheḍra-* (Trik.) [154] has been suggested by Bagchi, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, Introd. p. XXVI (1929) and Przyluski, BSL. 30 (1930), 200. The latter quotes some examples of this Munda nasalization. Tedesco,

---

154) The adj. *bhaiṇḍaka-* (Rājanigh.) presupposes a variant **bheṇḍa-*.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Language 19 (1943), 15 f. however rejects the idea of a Munda origin and explains *bheḍa-* as a younger Aryan development from **mheḍa-*. Since however the internal nasalization and the variation *ḍh* : *ḍ* : *ṭh* strongly suggest a foreign origin, the alternation *bh-* : *m* must be taken as an indication of (Proto-)Munda origin. Any doubt as to this origin is removed by a variant which has been left out of consideration in the previous discussions of *meṇḍa-*, viz. Hi. *mejhukā* "ram", which shows the common Munda development of *ḍh* > *jh* [155]).

Besides Hi. *mēḍhā*, *mēṛhā*, *meṛhā*, etc. "ram", Platts gives *mēḍā* "a he-goat with curling horns", *mīḍī* "a she-goat with do.". This recalls Pa. *meṇḍ-* "*koṭille*" (to be crooked), which must be a loanword from Proto-Munda, cf. M. *meṇḍā* "curved and pointed towards the head (said of horns of animals)", *merhāo* "to twist, wind", Ho *mendā* (*diriṅ*) "(horns) bent down" (see JBORS. 2, 354), S. *meṛha*, *mēṛha* "twisted backwards (horns of a buffalo), having horns twisted backwards (buffaloes)", *meṛhao*, *mẹṛhao*, *moṛhao* "to wind round, wrap round, roll up, entwine itself", *merao* "to twist the strands of a rope", *mẹṛgọ* "having horns twisted backwards (buffalo)".

A Proto-Munda root *wa-ḍa* "to wind thread, to turn round, to wind into a bundle" must be assumed on account of S. *buṛhu* "a bundle of rope or string wound into a bundle, to wind do.", *bọṛ* (M. *boṛ*) "a rope of straw, to make do.", *bheṛtaṅ* "to turn round", *bheṛwaṅ* "to turn round, wheel round, spin round" (lengthened form from **bheṛu*, **bheḍu*), *peṛta* "crooked, to pervert, twist, warp", *pẹṭẹr* "to twist, turn, writhe, wind, screw", *phẹṇṭọc'*, *pọṭọc'* "dislocated, twisted out of position", *phẹṇṭẹ phẹṛẹ* "to writhe and twist", *pīuri* "a roll of carded cotton, to twist thread into a point, to roll up", M. *pentoṛ* "to twist, twist and break", *piuṛi* "rolls of cotton to be spun into thread", Ho *pere* "to twist the tail". These words remind us of Hi. *phirnā* "to turn" (of doubtful derivation, see Bloch 373 and Additions p. XII, Turner s.v. *phirnu*), Guj. *pharvũ* "to turn, return" (Turner s.v. *pharkanu*). Their meaning is however somewhat different from that of the Munda words. Other Munda derivatives from this root are S. *bidwạ*, *bidhuạ* "cross-grained, crooked, twisted", *badhọṛ*, *badhoṛiạ*, *bẹdhọṛ*, *bẹdhoṛi*(*ạ*) "crooked, cross-grained, perverse (wood, persons)", *bedha bidhi* "cross-grained, crooked, twisted, entwined" etc. (see s.v. *baḍiśa-*). With these Munda words are probably connected Central Sakai *wēt*, *uēt* "to twist", Bahnar *uīn* "crooked, to bend" Mon *wēn* "bent", *kawēn* "to curl", *bòn* "to twist, to braid", etc. (cf. *veṇī-*, p. 32). The root-form *wa-ṇa* also occurs in Munda, cf. Bh. *uin* "to twist" (JBORS. 2, 463), S. *un'* "to twine, twist, plait, curl up" (where the final *n* has regularly been palatalized by the preceding *i*, and the diphthong *ui* has

---

155) Like *mejhukā*, the other variants must have been borrowed at various dates from different Proto-Munda dialects. No conclusion can therefore be drawn from the distribution of the variants in the NIA. languages.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC-0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

been contracted into a single vowel according to the general rule that diphthongs do not stand in a closed syllable, see Bodding, Materials for a Santali Grammar I § 109), Ho *ũi* "to twist (into rope)", Kh. *uṅ* "to twist". A prenasalized variant *wa-ṇḍa* occurs in S. *bhīṇḍ* "a large bundle or burden (tied)" (: M. *biṛā* "a bundle of crop", Ho *birā* "a big bundle of paddy"), whereas *ma-ḍa* is represented by S. *koṛea moṭea* "to wrap up, roll up, make up into a bundle" (: *poṭom* "a wrapper, cover, to wrap up, cover, envelop").

A great many loanwords in Aryan are derivatives from this root, e.g. Ved. *maṇḍacara-* "snare, noose" (*lāṅgalapāśa-*, see Caland, Über das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana 60): Pkt. *vaṇḍha-*, m. "bond, fetter" (*bandhaḥ*, Deśīn. 7, 29) [156]), Skr. lex. *vaṭ-*, *vaṇ(ḍ)-*, *maṇḍ-* "to wrap, envelop" (*veṣṭane*), *vaṭa-*, *vaṭākara-*, m., *vaṭārakā-*, f. "string, rope", *vaṭara-*, m. "*veṣṭaḥ*", Pa. *vaṭākara-* "rope, cable", Hi. *bĩṛā* "a bundle, roll (of paper, twist of grass, fibre of a plant)", *bĩṛā*, *bēṛā*, *baĩṛā* "crooked, transverse, cross, awkward", *bĩṛī* (dial. *mēṛī*, *mĩṛī*) "the hair twisted or plaited behind", *baũṛnā* "to entwine, twine round", Nep. *biṭo* "bundle, sheaf", *bīro* "mat made of grass", *biro* "betel encased in *sāl*-leaf" (Skr. *vīṭikā-*, f. "roll of betel-leaf"), etc.; Buddh. Skr. *moṭa-* (vv. ll. *muṭa-*, *mūṭa-*) "bundle", Pa. *mũtoḷī-* (vv. ll. *muṭoli-*, *putoḷi-*) "bag, provision-bag", Hi. *moṭ*, *moṭrā* "bundle, parcel, package, load", perhaps Skr. *mūta-*, *mūtaka-*, m. "wickered basket" : Skr. *pūla-*, *poṭala-*, m. "bundle", Pa. *puṭaka-*, n. "bag, knapsack, basket", Pkt. *poṭṭala-*, n. "*vastranibaddhadravyam*" (Deśīn. 2, 34), Mar. *poṭlā*, *poṭlī* "objets enfermés dans un bout d'étoffe" (Bloch 371), Hi. *poṭ* "bundle, bale, package", *poṭlā* "a large bundle" (= *moṭ*, *moṭrā*), etc. See Turner s.vv. *moṭak* "ring of twisted *kuś* grass", *mornu* "to bend, twist, fold", *baṭārnu* "to twist, distort", and p. 23.

Equally numerous are the loanwords in Dravidian, e.g. Tam. *poti* "pack, bundle, load", *poṭṭaṇam* "small bundle, parcel" (: Sgh. *poṭṭaniya* "bundle"), Tel. *boddu* "a rick or bundle of grass", *poduga* "a parcel or packet fastened in leaves", *pottara*, *potaka* "a pack or bundle of leaves", *poṭamu*, *poṭṇamu* "packet, pack, bundle, little bag", Kann. *poṭṭana*, id., *pode* "quiver, bundle" (: *mūḍige* "quiver"?), *moṭṭe* "leather bag, bundle, load", etc. Is Tam. *maṟi*, Tulu *mari* "ram" also a loanword?

Since **meṇḍa* denotes the curved horns of any animal, it may be applied to both sheep and goats, in accordance with the Dravidian use of denoting these animals by a general term (Tam. *āṭu*, etc.). Hence the contrast between M. *miṇḍi* "a sheep, one having shaggy hairs" and Hi. *mīḍī* "a she-goat". S. *meṛom* (M. Bh. Ho. *merom*) and J. *mera* "goat" may belong to the same affiliation and K. *bherki* "the fourhorned antelope, barking

---

[156]) Pkt. *maṇṭa-*, v.l. of *mañca-* "*bandhaḥ*" (Deśīn. 6, 111), may be of interest for the explanation of *mañjīra-*, n. "chain, fetter" (Skr. "anklet"). But cf. Skr. *hiñjīra-*, m. (wrongly Bloch 381).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

deer" (Gondi id.) is possibly also connected. On the other hand, So. *kim-mĕḍ'-* seems to be an onomatopoea, cf. *kim-mĕḍ-ĕn m'ēd gāmte* "the goat says 'me'" (Ramamurti, A Manual of the Sora Language 149). Pkt. *cimiṇa-* "ram, hog" and *gāmeṇī-* "she-goat" are ambiguous (the latter word is explained as standing for **grāma-eṇī-*).

See further s.vv. *āpīḍa-* and *kabarī-*.

58. *laguḍa-*, m. "a club, cudgel".

Since Mhbh. and Manu in common use in literature. Much rarer is *lakuṭa-* (Āpast. S'r. S., Caraka, cf. *lakuṭin-* Rām.), which is generally regarded as the older form of the word (e.g., Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, 117) and connected with Latin *lacertus* "upper arm". Although this etymology is accepted by most scholars the meanings of both words are widely different. Walde–Pokorny, II, 420, assume a primary meaning "ein zum Schlagen verwendeter Schenkelknochen", which is however quite hypothetical. A different explanation has been propounded by Przyluski, BSL. 24, 121 f. (Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, p. 12), who derived the meaning "stick" from "membrum virile" and compared *lāṅgūla-* and *liṅga-*. But *liṅga-* is no Proto-Munda word, and *lāṅgūla-* probably contains a prefix *la-* (like *lāṅgala-* "plough").

Pkt. *lakkuḍa-* (see Turner s.v. *lauro*) points to a foreign origin, so *laguḍa-* may be a Proto-Munda word. Since Santali has a word *guḍṇạ* "a short club or cudgel" it is tempting, then, to analyse *la-guḍa-* (with the same prefix *la-* as *lāṅgala-*, etc.). Bodding connects *guḍṇạ* with *guḍmạ* "oblong and round". This may be correct but on the other hand the notion "short" which *guḍṇạ* implies points rather to the root *ga-ḍa* "short, stunted", cf. *gaṇḍra guṇḍrạ* "small, stunted, puny", *gaṇḍke* "log, stump of wood (large and thick)", etc. (see s.v. *khaḍga-* "sword", and for the semantic relations see s.v. *daṇḍá-*). It is mostly impossible to decide whether the notion "round, globular" or "short" is predominant in a word for "club". Thus M. *ṭempā* "a short stick for driving cattle, having a knob at one end" may be connected with M *ṭhepā* "short in stature, a dwarf" [157]), but the last restriction points to an association with such words as M. *ḍheb-ḍhebe, ḍhebra* "big-bellied", *ḍhimsi* "a big-bellied woman". Often a similar contamination of notions will have taken place as in M. *ḍemkā* "dwarf and big-bellied".

With this restriction we may connect *laguḍa-*, *lakuṭa-* with Pali *kuṇṭa-* "stunted, dwarfish", *lakuṇṭaka-* "dwarf", Bashkarik *lukuṭ* "small" (p. 40). But Skr. lex. *potagala-* "a kind of reed" (Amara, Hemac., Medinī), < *wa-ḍa* (S. *poṭak'* "to peel off", p. 98; cf. *vāṇī-* "reed", p. 34) + *ga-ḍa* (S. *ghal ghalao* "to skin", p. 52!).

---

[157]) Root *ḍa-wa* "short, stunted", etc. (hence Pali *chava-* "vile, low, miserable, wretched").

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

59. *laṅga-* "lame"

Comm. on Kāty. S'S. 22, 3, 19; "lameness" Aśvavaidy. Cf. *laṅgati* "*gatau*" Nir. 6, 26 ("*khañje*" Vopadeva); *laṅgin-, liṅgika-, liṅgita-*, n. "lameness" (Aśvavaidy.), *ati-laṅgati* "limps" (ibid.), Hi. *lāgaṛ, laṅgṛā* "lame".

An Indo-European etymology has been given by Lidén, Studien zur altind. und vergleichenden Sprachgesch. 46, who compares Germ. *link*, Swed. *linka* "to limp, hobble", Latin *languēre* "to be weak". etc. Most scholars seem to have accepted this explanation, cf. Persson, Beiträge z. indog. Wortforschung 131 ff., Wackernagel, Idg. Forsch. Anzeiger 12, p. 21, Walde–Pokorny, Vergl. Wörterb. II, 713 (who however express some doubt as to the relationship of *laṅga-* to those words).

Variants with *i* are *liṅgita-*, occurring thrice in the Aśvavaidyaka (pw. VII, 371) and probably *liṅgati* "*gatau*" (Dhātup. 5, 48) (cf. *laṅgati* and *laṅkhati* "*gatau*", 5, 25), Beng. *leṅgcā, neṅgcā* "to limp" (Chatterji 889). As the ablaut suggests a Proto-Munda origin, we may compare the following Santali words: *lọkṛẹ* "crooked, bent, injured, hurt, deformed", *lukṛẹ, luṅkạ, luṅkại, luṅkạṛ, luṅkẹṛ* "maimed, injured, broken (hand or feet)"; *lọkṛẹṭ' lọkṛẹṭ', lukṛẹṭ' lukṛẹṭ'* "hobbling, limping", *lọkvẹṭ'* "a bend, bent, curved (branch)", *luluṛkuc'* "bent and stiff", *lokea, lokhea* "crooked, bent, not straight", *lạkṛuc'* "to bend, receive a curved or angular shape, to fall from weak knees", *lạkuc'* "to bend, walk bending one leg, weak-kneed", *lạkuṛ* "weak, powerless, lame, shattered", *lakac' lukuc'* "weak-legged, tottering, rickety", *lakaṛ lukuṛ* "weak, frail, shaky, nervous, to shake, tremble", *laṅgaṛ luṅguṛ* "weak, stiff (*e.g.* on account of rheumatism), feeble, strengthless".

We shall not enter upon a discussion as to whether these words properly belong to two different roots ("crooked" and "weak"). It may only be pointed out that the sense "crooked" often implies "lameness" (see the discussion of *kuṇi- s.v. khora-*) and that the words quoted are obviously connected with others which have initial *ḍ, d*, cf. *ḍẹkẹṭ' ḍẹkẹṭ'* "weak, feeble, shaking", *ḍakac' ḍukuc'* "to become old and weak, shake (from weakness), totter", *dhạkuc' bạkuc'* "crooked, lame, limpingly", etc. We are thus led to assume one or two roots *ḍa-ka, laṅgaṛ luṅguṛ* and Skr. *laṅga-* thus representing the nasalized variant *ḍa-ña*. The form *laṅkhati* is particularly interesting but the general interpretation "*gatau*" does not allow us to base further speculations on it. See further Turner s.v. *laṅaro*.

60. *lampaṭa-* "covetous, greedy for, esp. licentious".

Cf. *strīṣu lampaṭaḥ, strīlampaṭaḥ, parastrīlampaṭaḥ*, but also *bhoga-lampaṭaḥ* (see the Pet. Dict.). Similarly Hi. *lampaṭ* "covetous, greedy, lustful, addicted to licentious pleasures, lascivious, lecherous, dissolute, false, lying". From Proto-Munda, cf. Skr. lex. *limpaṭa-* "den Mädchen nachgehend".

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

With prefix *la-* from root *ba-ḍa*, cf. S. *lamoṭ, lampoṭ* "playful, lascivious, licentious, shameless, levity, frivolity", and *baṭu, baṭuā, baṭwā* "loose, lascivious, licentious, dissolute, wanton", *bhaṇḍ, bhaṇḍu, bhaṇḍin, bhuṇḍin* [158]), *bhaṇḍ bhaṇḍin barbāṇḍ, barmaṇḍ, bhaṇḍ maṛa*, id., M. *lompoṭiā* "licentious". *Bar-, bhaṇḍ, mara* and *-maṇḍ* are various derivatives from the same root. Such variants are often combined in Munda "echo-words". The variant *lampāka-* (Hemac., Medinī) suggests that the Indian grammarians regarded *lampaṭa-* as a derivative from **lampa-*, since words in *-ṭa-* have sometimes a pejorative meaning (see Renou, J. As. 1937, 272, on *kulaṭā-, vācāṭa-*); the suffix *-āka-* is added to several late words of foreign origin, e.g. *khuḍḍāka-* (fem. *khuḍḍīkā-*) "small". The same lexica quote *barbaṭī-*, f. "whore", which suggests a Proto-Munda origin (cf. S. *barbāṇḍ*). It is probably derived from the same root.

61. *l a l a t i* **"sports, dallies, plays, coruscates, fawns (dog)";**

caus. *lālayati* "causes to sport, caresses, fondles, cherishes, loves" (since the epics). Pali *laḷ-* "to dally, sport, sing" points to **laḍ-*, cf. in the Pāṇinean Dhātupāṭha *laḍa-* "*vilāse*", *lāḍa-* (*lāḍayati*) "*upasevāyām*"; the latter form is also taught by Candragomin (Renou, Études de gramm. sanscrite 97), while *upalāḍayati* Divyāv. 114, 26; 503, 9 reflects Pali *upalāḷeti* "caresses, coaxes, fondles, wins over". Lüders, Philologia Indica 555 f., is accordingly right in positing a root *laḍ-*. It may be added that *laḍant-* is very common in Kṣemendra's works, cf. Bhāratamañjarī 3, 1799; 13, 1222; 19, 897; Bṛhatkathāmañjarī 9 II 55. 316. 648. *Laḍita-* occurs, e.g., Bhāratam. 3, 773, but the common form is *lalita-* (1, 768; 3, 846, 1864, etc.). *Viladita-* is quoted from S'rīk. 5, 9. Since the derivations which have been proposed are based on the assumption of a root *lal-*, they are no longer discussible [Fick: Germ. *lallen*, see Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, 219; Uhlenbeck: Russ. *lelěyat'* (cf. Berneker, Slav. etym. Wb. 700), rejected by Lüders, l.c.; Wackernagel, p. 222: *laḍ-* perhaps from *lal-*; only Benfey started from *laḍ-*, see Lüders]. In the following we shall distinguish between I. *laḍ-* "to fondle, love", and II. *laḍ-* "to dally".

It has long been observed that Skr. *laṭaha-* and *laṭabha-* [159]) "nice, pretty" are Sanskritizations of Pkt. *laḍaha-* "pleasing, agreeable", but the origin of the last word was unknown (Wackernagel, I, p. LIII with n. 5). It clearly is a derivative from I. *laḍ-* with the characteristic Proto-Munda suffix *-ha* (cf. *kalaha-, paṭaha-, maṭaha-*, etc.); cf. the unsuffixed form in Pkt. *laṭṭha-* "attached to another woman, lovely, charming, speaking sweetly" (*anyāsaktaḥ, manoharaḥ, priyaṁvadaḥ*, Deśīn. 7, 26), Pa.

---

[158]) The last word means "fat, lazy and licentious" (contamination with *ba-ḍa* "fat" and the root discussed s.v. *baṇḍá-*, cf. *boḍ boḍo* "lazy, idle").

[159]) *Laṭabha-* frequently occurs in the Vikramāṅkad. (see pw, and add 8, 86; 12, 66); *laṭaha-* is once attested in a commentary (pw) and occurs in the Yaśastil. (Schmidt, Nachtr.), *laḍaha-* in Kādamb. 241, 13 Pet., etc. (see Pet. D. and Böhtlingk).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

laṭṭhaka- "beautiful, lovely". The surd in *laṭṭha-* and the vowel variation in Pkt. *liṭṭia-* "pleasing, agreeable" (*cāṭuḥ*, Deśīn. 7, 22) point to a Proto-Munda origin; cf. perhaps also Pkt. *lolaṇṭia-*, id., which may contain a prefix *lo-* and the nasalized root form *laṇṭ-*. The NIA. congeners suggest different originals, cf. Hi. *lāḍo* "beloved (woman or daughter), pet", *lāḍā* "beloved, pet, darling, tenderly nurtured", *lāḍ*, *lāṛ* "affection, tenderness, coaxing, caressing, blandishment (and: sport, play)", *laḍlā*, *laṛlā* "darling, tenderly nurtured, petted, spoilt (child)", Si. *lāḍlo* "beloved", *lāḍa*, Panj. *lāḍā* "fiancé", Panj. *lāḍ* "love" (which Bloch 398 wrongly connects with Skr. Pkt. *laḍḍu-* "cake") [160], and Hi. *laṭṭū*, *laṭuā* "enamoured, in love, dizzy", Nep. *laṭṭu*, *lasta* "enraptured, enamoured, mad for", *lolo-poto* "flattery, compliment", *lallo-pato* id., Guj. *lāṭho* "paramour".

Beside these words there are some words with initial palatal, e.g. Skr. *caṭu-* "courtesy, flirtation (Hemac., Med., Trik.) [161], *caṭula-* "courteous" (S'āntiś., Gītagov.), *catura-* "charming, pleasing" (Raghuv.), *cāṭu-*, m.n. "courtesy, flattery, politeness" (Ṛtus., Pañcat., etc.); with palatalized *t*: Skr. lex. *cañcala-*, m. "lover" (Hemac., Med.), if this word is connected with Hi. *coclā* "endearing arts and expressions, playfulness, fondling, dalliance, blandishment, coquetry", Mar. *coclā* "caress, coquetry", etc. (Bloch 332). If these words are ultimately connected with *laḍ-*, *laṭ-*, we should have to posit a Proto-Munda root *ḍa-ḍa*. Although the evidence now available does not admit a decision, this hypothesis would become more plausible if variants with initial *j-* could be shown to exist. Such a word is perhaps Skr. *jārá-*, m. "paramour, lover, friend" (since the ṚS.), which in the older literature is also used in a not unfavourable sense. Shina, Kshm., Western Pahari (Bhadrawahi dial.) *yār* and Si. *jār* point to an original **yāra-* (see Turner s.v. *jār*). Derivation from **ḍaḍa* may be suggested as a possible explanation.

In any case we may compare S. *alaṛ* "fondling, petting, spoilt, petted, to fondle, dandle, etc.", *alaṛ dulaṛ*, id., *alaṛiạ* "accustomed to be petted, etc. who wants to be fondled", *dulaṛ* "love, affection, to love, caress, fondle", *dulaṛ*, *dulaṛi*(*ạ*) "beloved, dear, petted", *dulaṛo* "loving, beloved", M. *dulāṛ* "to love, darling, dear". The correctness of M. *ālā dulā* "dear, beloved" is doubtful, since the radical element is *-laṛ* [162]. Hi. *dulār* "fondness, love, affection", Nep. *dulār* "dalliance, love-making, love" are clearly Munda loanwords and need not, therefore, be derived from **dulla-kāra-* (as Turner suggests). The Nep. word shows contamination of the two homonymous roots (cf. Nep. *lāṛ* "dalliance, amorous play" : *lāṛe* "fondling, caressing, pet, darling").

---

160) As for *laḍḍu-*, see s.v. *kamaṭha-*.

161) Cf. Mar. *cāḍ* "desire, affection", Si. *cāḍi* "desire", Panj. *cāṭ* "predilection" (see Bloch 328 f.).

162) Cf. Bhaduri, Addenda. Perhaps a loanword from Ho?

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Skr. II *laḍ-*, *lal-* "to dally, sport" seems to be a different root, although secondary contamination is often found: Pali however distinguishes between *līḷā*, *līlā* "play, sport, dalliance" (used together with *vilāsa-*) and *līḷhā* "grace, ease, charm, adroitness" (always applied to the Buddha). The second word may also account for Skr. *ākṛṣṭalīla-*, Raghuv. 6, 1 (= *gṛhītasaubhāgya-*, Mallinātha) [163]). Coomaraswamy's identification of Pa. *līḷā* and *līḷhā* (JAOS. 61, 98 ff.) is not sufficiently founded. Note also Pa. *lāḷana-* "swaying, dalliance, sport", which is different from Skr. *lālana-*, n. "caress", and Hi. *laṭ* "playful, wanton, coquettish", *laṭak* "coquetry". Variants with assibilated cerebral show similar meanings, e.g. Skr. *lasati* "dallies, sports", *lāsayati* "causes to dance", *laṣva-*, *liṣva-*, m. "dancer"; cf. *laṭva-*, m. "*jātiviśeṣaḥ*" (= *neṭhuyā* "dancing boy") and *laṭ-* "*bālye*" with unvoicing of *ḍ*. To this root belong Hi. *allaṛ*, *allaṛh* "childish", Mar. *alhaḍ*, etc., Nep. *allare* "childish, boyish, irrespondible, a youth".

62. *lorāyati* "vilocane".

Only recorded by the Gaṇaratnamahodadhi. Root *ḍar*, cf. S. *aṇḍar oṇḍor* "staring vacantly, to look about, stare with wide open eyes", *aṇḍor oṇḍor*, *iṇḍoṛ oṇḍoṛ*, *oṇḍor oṇḍor*, id., *aṇḍir kuṇḍir* "staringly, to stare, gaze, gape, be confounded", *kare ḍhare*, *kare ḍheṛe* "staring, fixedly", *ḍheṛe ḍheṛe*, *ḍheṛe ḍheḷ'* "staringly, with eyes fixed", *ḍhoro ḍhoro* "staringly, to stare", *maṭar muṭur* "to gaze, look round", *muṭur muṭur* "staringly, with eyes fixed", So. *tur-túr* "to watch".

On the other hand there are some words which point to a root *laḍ*, as M. *lodo* "to look on whistfully while others are eating, to look out for something hidden from view", S. *loṛyo*, *loṛyoṭ'*, *loṛoyoṭ'* "staring, gaping, gazing, stupid", *laṇḍo loṇḍo* "staringly, glaringly, to stare with wide-open eyes", *loṇḍo loṇḍo* "staring, etc." *loṇḍkoṭ'* "staring, one who has big eyes", etc. M. *loro* "to see without being seen, to lie in wait of, keep watch over one's coming", Ho *loro* "to look out for" may be connected with them.

Still other words contain a radical element *ral*, as S. *rolo rolo* "steadfasty (look, peer)", *morol morol* "staringly, intently, with eyes riveted on", *merel* "to look at yearningly, long for" (?), *jaral jaral* "with staring, flashing eyes" (contamination with *jaral jaral* "glowing"), *jaral jurul* "staringly (look)", *jorol jorol*, *jurul jurul* "fixedly, to eye, peep at, peer at", M. *gurul gurul* "to look with a fixed stare", So. *orṓl* "to watch".

The roots *ḍar*, *laḍ/lar*, and *ral* are apparently dialectal variants, which presuppose a root *ḍa-ḍa* "to stare". Cf. Mon *pelòn*, *telòn* "to stare".

---

[163]) The IE. etymology proposed for Skr. *līla-* "play" (< **lizdā*, cf. Lat. *lūdus*; see von Bradke, KZ. 28, 1887, 298, n. 1 and Wackernagel I, 219, 222, 275) is unsatisfactory. See also Coomaraswamy, p. 99 (root *lī-*).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

63. *l o l a-* "greedy, eager, longing for".

Since Var. BS. and Kālidāsa, cf. Megh. 61 *krīḍalola-* (: *krīḍāsaktaḥ, pramatta ity arthaḥ*, Mallin.), 100 (103) *lolaḥ kathayitum* (: *lālasaḥ*, Mallin.); cf. Amara *lolaḥ cala-satṛṣṇayoḥ*. Derivatives: *lolika-* "lustful, lascivious" (Kuṭṭanīm.), *lolatā-* "voluptuousness" (Suśr.), "desire, longing" (Sāh. D.), *lolībhāva-* "desire" (comm. Yaśastil.), *laulya-* "greediness, eagerness". *Lola-* is usually connected with *lul-* and regarded as an onomatopoea (see Uhlenbeck, Walde-Pokorny, Vgl. Wb. II, 376).

A verse of Yādava's (quoted by Mallinātha ad Megh. 100) mentions the following synonyms:

lolupo lolubho lolo
lālaso lampaṭo 'pi ca.

According to Wackernagel's plausible explanation, however, *lolupa-* "ardently longing for, desirous of" (Mhbh., Rām., Suśr.) is derived from a nom. sing. **lolup* (stem *lolubh-*), which excludes a connexion with *lola-* (see Sitzungsber. Berl. Akad. Wiss. 1918, 381, n. 1). The latter word reminds us, however, of the Skr. root *lal-* "*īpsāyām*", cf. Pa. *lal-* "*icchā*". The distinction which the later Dhātupāṭha makes between *laḍ-* "*vilāse, upasevāyām*" and *lal-* "*īpsāyām*" is rejected by Kṣīrasvāmin and Puruṣakāra on account of the identity of *ḍ* and *l* (*ḍalayor ekatvāt*), see Lüders, Philologia Indica 555. As a matter of fact, there are several indications pointing to a root *laḍ-*, e.g., Pkt. *leḍukha-* "covetous, greedy", Pa. *loḷa-* (in *dhanaloḷa-*), and probably even Skr. *laṣati* "desires, longs for, strives after" which is generally explained as a reduplicated present **la-lṣ-ati* and connected with Greek *λιλαίομαι*, Latin *lascīuos*, etc. This connexion, however, though sanctioned by a long tradition (see A. F. Pott, Etymologische Forschungen I, 1833, 271), is open to serious doubts. The root *las-* in the Greek and Latin word (cf. also Goth. *lustus*, Eng. *lust*) is likely to represent IE. **lĥs-* on account of Old Ch. Slav. *laskati*, Ruthen. *łásyj* (IE. **leĥs-*). The loss of the consonantal *ĥ* after reduplication might, it is true, be paralleled with *dadmáḥ*, etc., but any direct evidence for the existence of a Sanskrit root *las-* is wanting [164]). On the other hand, the assumption of a Proto-Munda root *laḍ-* may also account for Ass. *luturā* "sensual" (wrongly Turner s.v. *luto*), Nep. *lucco* "profligate, rogue, blackguard", Or. *loccā* "profligate, lewd", Hi. *luccā* "a dissolute fellow" and Skr. lex. *luṣabha-*, m. "elephant in rut" (Ujjvalad.), which cannot be separated from Dhtp. *loṭati, loḍati, roḍati* "*unmade*". The derivation from *ṛṣabha-* (Wackernagel, I, 22; cf. Tedesco, JAOS. 65, 96), which presupposes a very doubtful sound development, is also unacceptable on account of the semantic difference. *Luṣ-* is a variant of *laṣ-* (*laṣati*).

There are some NIA. words which suggest that the initial *l*, too, is

---

[164]) As for *laṣati*, cf. Wackernagel I, 238; for *dadmāḥ* see however "India antiqua" 206.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

a variant of *ḍ/d*, e.g. Hi. *cul* "longing, craving, eagerness, lustfulness", *cullī* "lewd, libidinous, man", *culhārā* "wanton, lustful, lascivious", *codū*, id., *coj* "eagerness, fondness", *coṭ* "desire, wish, aim". Similar variants with *c* were found to exist beside *lalati* (q.v.). They necessarily introduce an element of uncertainty into these studies, the results of which would doubtless be more convincing if we should let these forms out of consideration. We cannot, however, ignore this more problematic side of the question, the less so as the same problem recurs in Munda. Cf. S. *lalao, lolao* "to starve, long for, hunger for", *lala laḷi* "id., hungering for, hankering for", *lalkao, lalka laḷki*, id., *lalca* (M. *lalcā*) "covetous, envious", *laloc* "desire, greed, lust, to covet, lust after" (= Hi. *lālac*, Beng. *lalac*), *laloci, laloçiạ, laloṣiạ* "covetous, greedy", *lilkạu* = *lalkao*; *lilkạ lilki* "to cause to long for, to coax, to long for", *luluạu* (*lulwạu, lulhạu*) "to wheedle, coax, beguile"; *loṛo loṛo* "greedily, hastily, to be eager to eat", *locor* "craving, appetite", *lar larao* "to be eager", *laṛ khaṛao* "to be fidgety, eager". Variants pointing to an ultimate root *ḍa-ḍa* are, e.g., *thur thuraụ* "to be eager, desirous, solicitous", *thar tharao* "to be intent on, anxious about", *thare mare* "eagerly, impatiently", *tilki bilki, chilki bilki* "eagerly, restlessly" (cf. *lilkạ lilki*; contamination with *ḍa-ḍa* "impatiently, restless, unsteady", cf. *lilo loko, loṛo thoṛo, loto thoṛo, culur bulur, culbuliạ*, etc.), *cuṭ cuṭ* "craving, longing for, to be eager, greedy, restless, impatient". Since there can be little doubt as to the Proto-Munda origin of these words (note the ablaut *a* : *o*), the Hindi equivalents *lalak* "eager desire", *lalaknā, lalacnā, lalsānā, laliyānā, lilānā, lilyānā* "to long for, covet", *lallo* "desire" (cf. Pkt *lallaṁ* "eagerly") must be borrowings.

The question thus arises whether the common view that Skr. *lālasa-* "ardently desirous of" (since Mhbh., Rām.) is an intensive formation of *las-* is correct. The assumption of this root is based on this word and *laṣati* only. In Santali and Hindi *lālas-* is a mere variant of *lālac-*, which must be the older form as only *c* > *s* is possible. Accordingly, Skr. *lālasa-* must either contain a suffixal element *-as-* (cf. S. *khakoṣiạ* "frail, weak" : Hi. *khākh* "weak"; *leṛoṣiạ* "frail, weak" : *leṛe peṭe, leṛe theṛe* "dead tired, feeble") or it is a reduplicated formation (for **lā-laḍa-*). The parallelism of Hi. *lalak* argues in favour of the first supposition.

64. *vātuli-* "a certain kind of vampire".

Platts, in his Hindūstānī Dictionary, derives the Hindi word *bādur* "flying fox, bat" from Skr. *vātuli-* "a certain kind of vampire" which is only attested in the lexical work Hārāvalī. Beng. *bāduḍ* however shows the Hindi *r* to stand for *ḍ*, which suggests the possibility of a Munda origin. As a matter of fact, we find in several Munda dialects a word for "bat" which contains the radical element *dūḍ* (*tūḍ*); cf.:

Santali *bardūṛūc'* "bat".

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Mundari *bārduṛiad, bārdulud* (Bhaduri, A Mundari-English Dictionary).
bārdulid' (Rakhal Das Haldar, JASBeng. 40, 1871, p. 65).
[*bhadli, bhādur,* from Hindi].
Ho *bārdui,* in *chútú bardwi* (Ball, JASBeng. 40, p. 107), which stands for **bārduṛi(c')* with the regular loss of *ṛ* in Ho.
bāduri (L. Burrows, Ho Grammar 151, cf. JBORS. 5, 255) "flying fox", which seems to be due to metathesis (for **bārdui*).
Kurku *gadur* "vampire bat, a flying fox".
Sora *kĕntûr-* "bat" (cf. K. *tiru* "bat"?).

As for the last word, it has been pointed out above (s.v. *undura-*) that So. *kĕntûr-* may as well be connected with So. *guntúr-* "rat". Both groups of words (those for "bath" and for "mouse, rat") may even be ultimately allied but there is no evidence thus far that the words for "mouse" originally had a *ḍ* for *r*. Moreover the proper sense of *dūḍ* in the words quoted above seems to be "to flutter" on account of M. *burdulud* "flying ant" (cf. Dutch *vledermuis* : *fladderen*, Russian *letúčaya mys'*). The connexion with S. *dūṛūc'* "to tilt a vessel, to spill", suggested by Bodding, is not acceptable since *dūṛūc'* is used only about a pot, etc., containing some liquid.

S. K. Chatterji, in Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, p. XXI has proposed an explanation of Beng. *bāduḍ* by connecting it with Semang *kawet*, etc., which induced Ramaswami Aiyar, JBORS. 16, 324—326, to consider the question of the origin of the various Dravidian and Munda words for "bat". It will be clear, I think, that H. *bādur* and Beng. *bāduḍ* are derived from a Munda form **bā(r)duḍ*, while the modern Kherwari dialects have lengthened forms with the suffixes *-uc'*, *-ic'* (?), *-ut'*, *-it'*, *-iat'*. As Skr. *vātuli-* is likely to be etymologically connected with H. *bādur*, it must represent a Sanskritization of Pkt. **bāduli*, which again stands for **bā(r)dulic'* (or **bā(r)dulit'*, see p. 120, n. 165).

Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v. *vātuli-*, rightly point to *tarutūlikā* (v.l. *tarudūlikā*) which is recorded by the Hārāvalī as a word for "vampire". It may reflect a Proto-Munda word **tĕr-tūḍic'*, **tĕr-dūḍic'*, the prefix having been changed through popular etymology. Cf. Bashkarīk *šuṭūṭar* "small bat" with a prefix *šu-* (as in *šōrúṇḍ*, p. 80, Skr. *sutintiḍī-*, p. 135) and perhaps Skr. lex. *titīla-*, m. "bat".

As for *jatú-* "bat", see *undura-*.

65. *śakúnti-*, m. "bird".

Twice in the ṚS., then imitated in the Kāvya poetry (Bālar., Uttararām., S'iś.). Hence the deminutive *śakuntikā-* (ṚS.[1], Vāj. S., Mhbh.)? But the masculine *śakuntaká-* (ṚS. Khila, Vāj. S., Mhbh.) is hardly due to false analogy as we find also *śakúnta-* (Ath. S., Mhbh., *śakuntalā-*, Bhāg. P.) and *śakuná-* (ṚS.[12], Ath. S., YV., Brāhm., Epics, Yājñav., Suśr., Varāh.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Bṛh. S., Rājat.). Only the last word and *śakúni-* (ṚS.[3], Ath. S., Kāṭh. S., Brāhm., Upan., Epics, Class. lit.) have been in common use throughout all the periods of Sanskrit literature.

The etymology of *śakúnti-* etc. has often been discussed but no satisfactory explanation has yet been given. Fick, Vergl. Wörterb. der indogerm. Sprachen, I[4] (1890) 45, 425 compares Greek *κύκνος*, Latin (*ci*)*cōnia* "swan" and Church Slav. *sokolъ* "falcon", the primary meaning being "hanging, hovering" (: *śaṅkate*!). But *κύκνος* is hardly an Indo-European word. The connexion with Skr. *śocati* (*κύκνος* being the 'white' animal), though accepted by several authorities (Boisacq, Walde–Pokorny) is characteristic of an obsolete method of etymologizing. As for *cicōnia*, it may belong to *cano*. Thus there remains the connexion of *śakúni-* with *sokolъ* which is already found in Miklosich's Lexicon Palaeoslovenico-Graeco-Latinum (1865). Miklosich rejected it later on in his Etym. Wörterb. der slavischen Sprachen (1886) but in Uhlenbeck's etymological Sanskrit dictionary it returns, although with some doubts on the author's part. In his turn Uhlenbeck abandoned the etymology in Paul and Braune's 'Beiträge', vol. 35, p. 171, where *sokolъ* and Lith. *sākalas* are derived from a hypothetical root **seqᵘ* "to shine" (for similar conjectures of other scholars see Walde–Pokorny, Vergl. Wb. I, 456). After having twice been abandoned by its advocates the same theory reappears in Walde–Pokorny. We now await Pokorny's conversion.

The main difficulty of *śakúni-*, *śakúnti-* is of course the peculiar word-formation. I do not know of any attempt to explain it, nor have I seen it acknowledged that a difficulty exists. Osthoff, Etym. Parerga 246, discusses IE. animal names in *-no-*, among which *śakúna-* occurs, but he wisely omits to mention the existence of *śakúnta-* in this connexion. Specht, Der Ursprung der idg. Deklin. 222, it is true, quotes many IE. names of birds with suffixal *t*, but is *śakúnti-* an IE. word?

A Proto-Munda root **tit'* underlies the following words for "bird":

1) with prefix *ti-*: Kw. *tīti*, K. *titiṭ'* (*tīṭīṭ'*); cf. So. *titid-* in the language of children.
2) with prefix *kon-*: Kh. *kontheḍ*, *konted* (*konter*), J. *konter*, So. *ontid'*.

The last words point to a Proto-Munda word **ku-ntit'*, a variant of which was **ku-nit'* (see Introduction). We may reasonably suppose, therefore, that *śakúnti-* and *śakúni-* reflect these Proto-Munda words augmented by a new prefix *śa-*. The checked *t'* [165]) has disappeared so that the words have become inflected according to the *i*-declension of Sanskrit. *Ś'akúnta-* and *śakuná-* must then be innovations of Sanskrit, the source of which is not quite clear.

[165]) The checked *k'* is represented by *k* in Skr. lex. *bhūka-*, m.n. "hole": S. *bhuk'* and in *Mandākinī-*, if my suggestion that it is derived from *dak'* "water" is correct (Acta Orient. 17, 17 ff). In NIA. the checked consonants in loanwords as a rule become surds. It should however be noted that the case of *t'* after a front vowel is different from *k'* after back vowels. Cf. also *vāṭuli-* < **bārdulic'/t'* (p. 119).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

S'akuna- was also the name of a people or tribe. In Mhbh. 7, 20, 11 B. they are mentioned together with the *Gāndhārāḥ*. Probably *S'akuni-*, the well-known uncle of the Kaurava princes and king of Gandhāra, also bears a tribal name. In any case the name betrays the existence of a Proto-Munda population in the extreme North-Western part of India whose name was probably derived (like most names of Proto-Munda tribes) from the tribal totem, whatever kind of bird may have been designated by that name [166]). If so, the name of the people of the Kuntis may possibly be identified with Kh. *konted*.

66. *S'árkarā-*, f. "gravel, grit".

Since Ath. S., Taitt. S., Taitt. Br., S'at. Br., in common use throughout the Sanskrit literature; also "coarse brown sugar" (Hariv., Suśr., Varāh. Bṛh. S., etc.); *śárkara-* "consisting of gravel or grit", m. "pebble" (S'at. Br., Kāty. S'S., Kauś.). A Sanskritization of the corresponding Pkt form of this word is met with in *śakvarāḥ* = *prastaraśakalāni*, comm. on Kām. Nītis. 4, 53, which is rather a misprint for **śakkarāḥ* than for *śarkarāḥ* (as the Pet. Dict. assumes). It has been connected with Greek *κροκάλη* "pebble on the sea-shore, shore, strand" (Fick, Vergl. Wörterb. I⁴ 46, 425, Walde–Pokorny I, 463; rightly questioned by F. Muller, Grieksch Woordenboek s.v., and Frisk, Zur indoir. und griech. Nominalbildung 36): unacceptable because *κροκάλη* (since Euripides) is a Greek derivative from *κρόκη*. On the other hand, the assumption of a suffix *-kara-* for *táskara-*, *púṣkara-*, *puṣkala-*, etc. (Pisani, Riv. degli Studi Orient. 18 [1939], 102) is based on an incorrect analysis of words which are certainly not of IE. origin.

S'arkarā- does not survive, it seems, in modern Aryan. Instead of it we find descendants from Skr. *karkara-*, m.n. "stone, limestone, especially the nodule found in Bengal under the name of kankar" (see Schmidt, Nachtr.). Cf. Pkt. *kakkara-*, m.; Hi. *kaṅkar*, *kā̃kar* "a nodule of limestone, limestone (of a coarse kind found in many parts of India, and used in making lime, roads, etc.); stone, gravel, pebble", *kā̃krā* "a nodule or piece of kakar, a pebble, a stone", *kā̃krī* "id., a small round stone or pebble; gravel; a small lump (of sugar, or salt, etc.)." See Turner s.v. and cf. Tam. *kaṅkar*, Tel. *kaṅkara*, Kann. *kaṅkare* "gravel".

S'arkarā- and *karkara-* show a similar variation of prefixes as, e.g. *śarkoṭa-*, and *karkoṭa-*. The radical element which they have in common is accordingly *-kar-*, cf. Skr. *karaka-* "hail stone" (Kālid., lex.), *kara-*, id. (lex.), and in Munda: S. *muṭkuri* "small stones like gravel", *moṭkori* "small

166) As several scholars seem to attach some value to Sāyaṇa's rendering of the word as *kapiñjala-* "a kind of partridge" (Grassmann, Wb., Osthoff, l.c., Walde–Pokorny), it may be noted that Sāyaṇa renders everywhere *pakṣin-* except for 2, 42, 1. 3 and 2, 43, 1. 2. 3 (where *kapiñjala-* is due to Bṛh. Dev. 4, 93, see Geldner) and 10. 16. 6 (*kākākhyaḥ!*).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

gravelly stones, gravel (but not of quartz or white stone like *kakoṛ*)", M. *moṭkuri* "gravel", *guṛguṛ* "gravel", K. *gargadda* "pebbles", Kh. *gargaṛ* "gravel". (S. *kakoṛ*, *kaṅkoṛ*, K. *kāker*, id. are Aryan loans). If these words are rightly combined, the root is *gaḍ-* or *ga-ḍa*.

The use of *śarkarā-* in the sense of "sugar" dates back to about the beginning of our era and is accordingly much younger than its application to "gravel". Nevertheless, in spite of such parallels as S. *baḷi guṛ* "crystalized raw sugar" (: *baḷi* "iron stone sand, iron ore"), Malay *gula pasir* "powdered sugar" (: *pasir* "sand"), it is doubtful that the meaning "sugar" is due to a semantic development of Sanskrit. Przyluski, Mém. Soc. Ling. 22, 208 ff. (not repeated in 'Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India') was the first to point to some interesting similarities of Skr. *śarkarā-*, Pa. *sakkharā-*, Pkt. *sakkara-* "sugar" in Mon *kaw*, Khmer *skar*, Stieng *sökor*, Črau *škor*, *čkor*. Since Meillet considered *śarkarā-* "gravel" a genuine IE. word, Przyluski suggested that **sakkarā* "sugar" had been borrowed from some Austro-Asiatic dialect and, after having been identified with Pkt. *sakkara-* "gravel", had been Sanskritized to *śarkarā-*. I cannot propose a more plausible solution. It may only be observed that *śarkarā-* should rather be connected with Mon *sakrē*, *thekrē* "sugar" than with *kaw*, although *-krē* against *-kor* in the other languages is remarkable. These words point to the possibility that Proto-Munda also had a word **śĕr-kar(a)* "sugar", but the materials now available do not allow us to decide whether this word, if it has existed at all, was identical with the word for "gravel".

67. *śṛṅkhalā-* "chain, fetter".

A word of the classical language (sometimes *śṛṅkhala-*). According to lexicographical works it also denotes a man's girdle (cf. Lat. *torques*). Some scholars therefore suppose some connexion with *mékhalā-* "girdle" and try to explain them as being words of IE. descendance, see Walde–Pokorny I, 409, II, 241 (hence Renou, Grammaire sanscrite 259: suffix *-khalā-*). On the other hand, the obscure word *sṛṅkā-* (Kath. Up. 1, 16; 2, 3) has been connected with it. It is sometimes translated "necklace" or "garland" (cf. S'aṅk.: *śabdavatī ratnamayī mālā*) cf. Deussen, Sechzig Upan. 269, Otto, Die Katha Upan. 29, Hume, The thirteen principal Upanishads 344, 346 n. 1, Rawson, The Katha-Upanishad 70. But many other renderings have been suggested, as "luxus, voluptas" (Kern, on account of *śṛṅgāra-*), "way" (S'aṅk., Pet. D., which Zupitza, KZ. 36, 1900, 58, account with *sraṅk-* "gatau", Lith. *sliñkti* "to sneak", etc.), "bag, pouch" (Roth, accepted by Böhtlingk-Garbe, Chrestom.[3] 399), "slough, pool" (Whitney, Transactions of the Am. Phil. Assoc. 21, 1890, 95), "un involuto mantra" (Maryla Falk, Il mito psicologico 422). The interpretation of the two passages (one of which is probably an interpolation) is too

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

uncertain to allow any conclusion. The Middle Indian correspondences of *śṛṅkhalā-* are: Pa. *saṅkhalā-*, Pkt. *saṅkhalā-*, *siṅkhalā*, *saṅkalā-* (*saṅkaliyā-*), see Pischel, Gramm. d. Pkt. Spr. § 213. For the modern Aryan forms see Turner, s.v. *sāṅlo*.

As a loanword it also occurs in Dravidian and Munda languages. Tamil *caṅkili*, Malayalam *caṅkala*, have probably been borrowed from Prakrit. As for S. *sikṛi*, M. *sikṛi* (Bhaduri), *sîkṛi* (Rakhal Das Haldar, JASB. 40, 49), *sīkṛī* (Mark. 5, 3), Ho *siṅki*, *sikri* their Aryan origin is less certain, the less so since Sora has *sikkĕdi-*. By the side of Hi. *sikrī* "a small chain", it is true, the local dialects of Bihar have such forms as *sikkaṛ*, *sīkaṛ*, *sikṛā*, and *sikṛī*, see Grierson, Bihar Peasant Life § 107. On the other hand, such local words are often borrowings from modern Munda (cf. *hurkā* and prob. *aṛkhaṛ*, discussed s.v. *argaḍa-*). So. *sikkĕdi-* is also dubious (Munda **si-kaḍi* or rather from Oriya *sikuḷi* on account of the final *i*?). K. *sākaṛī*, *sakaṛī*, *sakaḍī* (beside *saṅko*, *sīko*) have the normal *ṛ* for Mar. *ḷ* (cf. Mar. *sākḷī*).

Whatever may be the exact relation between S. *sikṛi* and Bihari *sikṛī*, they point in any case to a cerebral. A confirmation is to be found in two Sanskrit words for "girdle" quoted in the Medinīkośa, viz. *śarkarī* and *śakvarī* (the latter no doubt miswritten for **śakkarī*), which reflect a Proto-Munda form **sar-kaṛ-(i)*. Since Skr. *śṛṅkhalā* has an ancient *l* (cf. Pali *saṅkhalā*), it must have been adopted from a Proto-Munda dialect where *ḍ* had become *l* and reflect an original **sĕr-ṅkala*.

As for *mekhalā-*, the analysis *me* + *khalā* is perhaps supported by Tamil *kalai* "woman's girdle consisting of seven strands of jewels". The Tamil Lexicon, it is true, derives it from Skr. *mekhalā* but possibly it represents the root word **kalā* or **galā*. However that may be, the prefix *me-* is a variant of the common prefix *ma-*, *mar-* (cf. s.v. *bákura-*)[167]. It is tempting, then, to compare the Pkt. *makkaḍabandha-*, n. "a chain ornament worn across over the left and under the right shoulder" (*śṛṅkhalārūpaṁ grīvābharaṇaṁ savyāpasavyaṁ yajñopavītākāram*, Deśīn. 6, 127). While *mékhalā-* (since Ath. S., Taitt. S.) must have been adopted, like *śṛṅkhalā-*, from a Proto-Munda dialect where *ḍ* had become *l*, *makkaḍa-* still preserves the original cerebral. That it is composed of a prefixal syllable *mar-* and a root *kaḍ-* may be inferred from *khāḍi-*, m. (ṚS), lex. *khaḍ(at)ū-* m. "ornament worn round the arms and legs", *khaḍukā-*, *khaḍḍukā-* "*pādapāśī*". Cf. furthermore Skr. *kaṭaka-* (Pkt. *kaḍaya-*) "cord, string, bracelet", *kaṅkaṇa-*, n. "ringshaped ornament, bracelet", Beng. *khāṛu* "bracelet", etc. The connexion of *śṛṅkhalā-* with Old Icel. *hlekkr* "chain", Old Engl. *hlence* "armour" and Lat. *clingere* "*cingere*"[168]) is accordingly to be rejected.

[167]) Thus *mecaka-* "dark blue, black" (since Mhbh.) may be connected with Mon *mecòk*, *lecòk*, *lemcòk* "black". Otherwise Candravṛtti (from *mac-*, see Renou, Études de gramm. scr. 125) and Uhlenbeck, Paul and Braune's 'Beiträge' 26, 303 (Lat. *micāre*, Dutch *meeuw*).

[168]) Johansson, Paul and Braune's "Beiträge" 14, 298 f., Zupitza KZ. 36, 58, etc.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Class. Skr. *nigaḍa-*, n., "chain for the feet, fetter" (also *nigala-*, e.g., Daśakum. 122, 19; 125, 2 Agashe, and pp. 161, 162 Godbole in contradistinction to Agashe) has a meaning similar to *śṛṅkhalā*. Pischel, Sitz. Berl. Akad. 1903, 728 (in a discussion of *vagaḍabhī*) points to the fact that in Mahāvastu 2, 100, 3 and Lalitavist. 318, 2 *nirgaḍa-* is used for *nirargaḍa-* "ohne Hindernis, tadellos"; since *gaḍa-*, *gaṇḍaka-* is said to mean "obstacle" (*antarāyaḥ*), Pischel connects *nigaḍa-* (Pali *nigaḷa-*, Pkt. *ṇiaḷa*) [169]) with these words (cf. *gaḍ-* "*āvaraṇe*" Dhātup.); see also Johansson, Etymologie und Wortgeschichte 9 (with bibl.). Therefore Charpentier's view (from **ni-gṛto-* = *nināddha-*, ZDMG. 73, 150) is improbable. Since several Proto-Munda words are prefixed with *ni-*, *nigaḍa-* may be a Proto-Munda word [170]). The proper meaning of *gaḍ-* must then have been "to bind" (cf. *bandha-* "chain, tether, bondage"). See also s.v. *argaḍa-*.

The derivation of *aṅgada-*, n., "bracelet worn on the upper arm" (since the Rām.) is doubtful. Seeing that most of the names for bracelets and similar ornaments are foreign words (*kaṭaka-*, *keyūra-*, *nūpura-*, etc.) it is unlikely to be composed of *aṅga-* and *dā-* ("to bind"?). Tamil *aṅkatam* also signifies "serpent" and "falsehood, abuse"; if these three meanings belong to one and the same word, its original sense must have been "twisting, bending" (cf. *kuṭila-*, *kuṭilagāmin-*). Otherwise it might perhaps represent Proto-Munda **a-ṅgada* (from **a-ṅgaḍa*).

In this case, as in many others, the great number of possible phonetic changes in Proto-Munda enables us to combine words of a rather different aspect but diminishes at the same time the stringency of the demonstration. But the assumption of a root *gaḍ-* "to bind" is supported by Skr. lex. *gala-*, Hi. *gal*(a) "noose, snare" and Sant. *gaḷi*, id. (cf. perhaps *gaṛi suṛi* "to bundle up, huddle up"). Scheftelowitz's connexion (ZII 2, 269) of *gala-* with *gúlma-*, m., "shrub, bush", Old Ch. Slav. *golъ* "branch", Alban. *g'al'm* "rope" does not recommend itself. On the other hand, S. *haṛi* "to fetter, chain" may belong to the same root. In view of *haṛi* the question arises whether Skr. *hāra-*, m., "a necklace, string or garland of pearls" (Hi. *hār*, *hārā* "garland", Beng. *hār* "necklace", Nep. *hāri* "garland, necklace of coins set in rows", etc.) is really identical with *hāra-* "charming" as is generally supposed. However that may be, the meanings of *śṛṅkhalā*, *mekhalā*, *kaṭaka-* and *nigaḍa-* are so closely related (cf. Tam. *caṅkili*

---

[169]) For the Pkt. forms, see Pischel § 240; for the NIA. equivalents see Turner s.v. *nel*, Bloch 150.

[170]) Cf. *nibiḍa-* (p. 148), *na-* in Pa. *naṅgala-*, S. *nahel* (see s.v. *hala-*) and in Pkt. *ṇaḍulī-*, *ṇaḍḍulī-* "*kacchapaḥ*" (Deśīn. 4, 20) : Skr. lex. *duḍī*, *dulī-*, *ḍulī-*, f. (see Wackernagel I, 222), Nep. *ṭhoṭari* "tortoise". The following Skr. words are prob. Proto-Munda loanwords : *nicumpuṇa-* (RS, see Oldenberg, Rel. des Veda 399 n. 3 and Noten ad 8, 93, 22), *nipuṇa-* (cf. Pkt. *chappaṇṇa-* "clever", S. *saṛphaṛiṇ*, id.?), *nikurumba-* "multitude". Note also *nikharva-* "dwarfish" (Hemac., Kṣīrasvāmin ad Amara 2, 6, 46) = *kharva-*, id. (see s.v. *khaḍga-*).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

"chain, link, chain-ornament of gold, inset with diamonds, hand-cuffs, fetters") that it is not unreasonable to assume their relationship. See further s.v. *argaḍa-* [171]).

68. *śṛṅgāra-*, m. "fine dress, etc.".

This word conveys rather different meanings, viz. 1) adj. "fine, beautiful" (*°veṣa-* Mhbh., *°vaktra-* Rām.); m. "ornament, fine dress" (Pañcat., Kathās., etc.). 2) "love, sexual passion" (Rām., Kālid., etc.). In NIA. languages only the first word seems to survive, see Turner s.v. *siṅār* "decoration". It is generally derived from *śṛṅga-*, n. "horn" (Pet. Dict., Uhlenbeck, Frisk, Zur indoir. und griech. Nominalbildung 41), which however finds no support in its meaning. Like *śṛṅkhalā-*, *śṛṅgāra-* is a Proto-Munda loanword but, while in the first word *śṛ-* is a prefix, it here forms part of the root. The meanings "ornament" and "passion" belong to two different words, which will be discussed separately.

As for 1. *śṛṅgāra-* "fine, fine dress", we may compare the following Santali derivatives from a root *ḍa-ka* or *ḍa-ga*, which, however, are partly contaminated with words meaning "shining, brilliant", and partly with a word-group with the sense "to grow luxuriantly, strapping, well-fed": *cakmak* "splendid, fine, beautiful, to show oneself off", *cakmakao* "to be ready adorned, make fine-looking", *cakel makel* "to show oneself off, strapping", *cahak mahak, cọhọk mọhọk* "smart, decking oneself (in one's finery), to show oneself off, deck oneself", *cahak cọ̄họ̄k* "who decks oneself, shows oneself off, smart", *cọ̄họ̄k* "fresh, bright, graceful, beautiful", *cọkọn* "to dress oneself finely", *cikan cọkọn, cikọn cọkọn* "finely dressed, decked, smart, well-fed", *cẹlọt' cẹkọt' cẹlkọt'* "finely, decked and tidied" [*cigọe cọgọe* "elegantly, lightly (dance)?], *chak mak, chọk mọk, chak makao* "fine, shining, to make fine, deck oneself out", *chak mạkiạ* "finely attired or dressed, decorated, adorned, elegant, glittering; to tidy oneself up", *chakel makel, chaker maker* "well-made, handsome, graceful, elegant", *chik chak* (*chik chik*, etc.) "polished, shining, to tidy oneself up (put on one's finery, to wash and oil oneself)", *jiki miki, jhiki miki* "fine, shining, resplendent [172]); to adorn oneself", *jhiṅgur* "ear-ornament" (Campbell), *sẹkẹ sẹkẹ, sẹkẹ dọkẹ, sẹkẹ mẹkẹ* "covered with ornaments, to adorn", *ḍigi migi* "beaming, shining, with splendour and pomp, to show oneself jubilant", *ṭẹk ṭẹkẹ* "the whole (arm, neck) full of ornaments". Cf. Nep. *jhakkalo* "showy, fashionable", *jhakmale* "showy, foppish", *jhak-jhak, jhakā-jhak*

---

171) Toda *tagārs* "chain" (Pope) < **tagāl* and Hi. *tagṛī* "a gold and silver chain, worn round the waist, a girdle, zone" have curious parallels in the Philippines: Tagalog, Bisaya *talikala*, Tag. *tanikala* "chain" (which according to Kern are loanwords from Sanskrit, see Adriani, Sangireesche Spraakkunst 154). I must leave it to competent judges to decide if these words are connected at all.

172) Cf. Nep. *jhaka maka* "shining, bright", *jag mag* "to glare, shine" (Hi. *jagmag* "dazzling light, glitter", etc.).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

"splendour, grandeur", perh. also Skr. lex. *caṅga-* "nice", cf. So. *laṅgā* "beautiful".

In *ḍigi migi* and *ṭeḳ ṭeḳẹ* the original cerebral has been preserved, cf. also (*seḳẹ*) *doḳẹ*. Although Skr. *śṛṅgāra-* may represent a Proto-Munda word **sĕ-r-ṅ(g)ar* or **sĕ-r-ṅ(g)o̤r* [173]) (with an *r* infixed between the two parts of the root), it is, in view of its comparatively late appearance in Sanskrit literature, not excluded that *śṛṅgāra-* is a Sanskritization of Pa. Pkt. *siṅgāra-* (on the analogy of the correspondence Pa. Pkt. *siṅga-* : Skr. *śṛṅga-* "horn", Pkt. *siṅkhalā-* : Skr. *śṛṅkhalā-* "chain"). In that case Proto-Munda **siṅgar* or **siṅgo̤r* would be a dialectal variant of S. *liṅgo̤r loṅgo̤r* "finely dressed, to make a show of oneself, frivolously".

2. *śṛṅgāra-* "love" is likewise derived from a root *ḍa-ka* or *ḍa-ga*, cf. S. *liṅgo̤r loṅgo̤r* "frivolously" (contaminated, like some of the following words, with a derivative from the first root, see above), *loṅgo̤r loṅgo̤r* "merry, jovial, jolly, foppish, dandified, licentious, frivolous", *loṅgra* "sensual, licentious, lustful, shameless, unchaste" (cf. Hi. *laṅgar* "a dissolute fellow, libertine, rake", *luṅgārā, luṅgāṛā* "dissolute, profligate, lewd, lecherous"), *laṅ cạṅgiạ* "gay, jolly, a dandy, fop", (cf. M. *lāṅ cāṅgiā* "foppish, dissolute"), *lọhọk* "jolly, sportive, showing oneself off", *cok caṇḍal* "libidinous, lustful". The same remark, as made above on account of 1. *śṛṅgāra-*, applies to this word. While no theory can be based on *śṛṅgaṁ hi manmathodbhedaḥ* Sāh. Darp. (see Pet. Dict.), the variant with *i* actually occurs in *siṅga-*, m. "libertine, rake" (Yaśastil.), which is hardly a misprint for *siḍga-* (Hemac., Med.), cf. *saṅga-*, m. (S'iś.), *nāraṅga-*, m. (Hemac., Med.; prefix *nā-*, cf. p. 124, n. 170), *laṅga-*, m. (= *siḍga-*, Hemac., Med.), *ṭāṅkara-* (Trik.) "libertine, rake", *laṅkā-* "slut" (Hemac., Med., Viśvā), Tam. *caṅkāḷar* "lustful persons, as prostitutes". *Siḍga-* accordingly contains an infix *-ḍ-*, inserted between the two parts of the root *ḍa-ga*. I do not hazard to pronounce an opinion on Hi. *dhaggaṛ, dhagāṛ, dhagṛā* "paramour, lover".

69. *h a m b ā-, h a m b h ā-, h u m b h ā-* "bellowing of a cow".

By the side of *hambhā* (since Mhbh. Rām.) a variant *hambā* occurs in Hariv. and Rājat. (see Pet. Dict.). The denominative verb *hambhāyate* is once attested in *hambhāyamānā* Mhbh. 1, 6670 Calc. = 1, 165, 22 Poona, where the Poona text records some interesting variant readings as *humbh-, humph-*, and *haṁv-*. Similar variants are given for *hambhāravaghanasvanā* 1, 165, 32 Poona, viz. *hambā-, humbhā-, humphā-*. The Bombay edition of the Rāmāyaṇa (and modern editions based on it, as the Madras edition of 1933) read *humbhārava-* in Rām. 1, 54, 18 and 1, 55, 2 (*hambhārava-* von Schlegel). As the variation *a* : *u* is suggestive of foreign origin, the

---

[173]) For Skr. *a* representing Proto-Munda *o, o̤*, see s.v. *hambā*.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

explanation of *hambhā* as an onomatopoea (Uhlenbeck s.v.) cannot be accepted without further inquiry. Now T. Burrow, Transactions of the Philological Society 1945, 80, points to the fact that the Dravidian short *o* is normally replaced in Sanskrit loanwords by short *a*. The same holds good for Proto-Munda words. We may therefore compare S. *homba, hombẹ, ombẹ*, M. *omba* "to low (cows, bullocks)". In the Kherwari dialects of Munda we often find variants with, and without, initial *h*. This is mostly due to a dialectal loss of *h*, although for some instances the possibility of secondary aspiration of the initial vowel is not excluded [174]). In any case the loss of *h* must date back to a comparatively early period since some Sanskrit loanwords represent Proto-Munda words without ancient *h* [175]), as *āvila-* "turbid" (Mhbh., Rām., Suśr., Kālid., etc.), cf. S. *hẹvẹl bẹkẹl* < *kẹvẹl bẹkẹl* "turbid, muddy", *huvel bukel* "reddish (colour of stagnant, iron-oxidized water)" (but *heola* "to stir up, mix by stirring", *heola hivli* "to mix up, make muddy, turbid" are rather connected with *heoḍa*, id., *hẽũṇḍel, hẹṇḍẹl bẹkẹl*, id.) [176]).

70. *hala-*, m. "plough".

Since Mhbh., Rām. (*hāla-*, Med., *hali-* Trikāṇḍaśeṣa); also used as a weapon (like *lāṅgala-, kalāṅgala-*, etc.). It has been connected with Arm. *jlem* "I plough", Old Engl. *gielm* "sheaf" (Hübschmann, Uhlenbeck, Niedermann) or with Arm. *jol* "pole, stick", Lith. *žúolis* "trunk of a tree" (Scheftelowitz, Petersson), see Walde–Pokorny I, 629 (add Scheftelowitz, KZ. 53, 268) and Feist, Etym. Wörterb. der got. Sprache s.v. *gilba*. Walde–Pokorny emphasize the problematical character of these explanations, none of which is quite convincing (cf. J. Bloch, BSOS. 8, 411). It may therefore be useful to draw attention to a possible Proto-Munda derivation.

Skr. *lāṅgala-*, n. "plough" is a derivative from a root *kal-* or *gal-*, cf. Khasi *lyṅkor* < **lĕṅkol*, id. [177]). The Sanskrit word accordingly represents a Proto-Munda **lā-ṅal* (cf. *la-kuṭa-*) or rather **nā-ṅal* (cf. Pa. *naṅgala-*, Mar. *nāgar*, etc.) [178]). The Dravidian words (Tam. *ñāñcil*, Tel. *nāgal*, Kann. *nēgal*, Gondi *nāṅgēl*, Kui *nāṅgeli*), some of which presuppose an original **nā-ṅil* or **nāṅēl*, cannot have been borrowed from Sanskrit (as J. Bloch, l.c., apparently assumes) but must reflect a Proto-Munda variant

---

174) For a similar phenomenon in Tulu see Ramaswami Aiyar, Ind. Ant. 69 (1930), 200. Kann. *ambā*, Tel. *ambhā* are loanwords, either from Munda or from Aryan (Kittel, Kann. Engl. Dict., Preface XLIII derived *hambā* from Dravidian).

175) Skr. lex. *ajjhaḷa-* : *kajjala-* is late, Skr. *alābu-* : Pkt. *kalavū-* not quite certain.

176) With *bẹkẹl* may be connected Pkt *bahala-*, n. "mud" (*paṅkaḥ*).

177) See Przyluski, BSL. 24, 118—124 = Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian 8 ff. (cf. Kuiper, Acta Orient. 16, 307 f.). Przyluski writes *ka-lyṅkor*, but *ka* is probably the Khasi "article". Final *-l* becomes *-r* in Khasi.

178) Cf. Skr *aṅganā-* "woman, female" < **a-ṅana* = Kon-tu *akan*, Bahnar *akăn*, Khmer *kan* (Kuiper, Acta Or. 16, 203 ff.).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

of **nā-ṅal* [179]). The modern Munda equivalents are: S. *nahẹl* "plough", M. *nāel* (Bhaduri), *naial* (Hoffmann), *naïal* (Rakhal Das Haldar) "wooden frame of the plough", Ho *nail* "plough". Bloch regards these, too, as Aryan loanwords, probably because Przyluski's paper suggests the idea that *lāṅgala-* has been borrowed from some Austro-Asiatic language outside of India. Since however the *h* in Kherwari (and, to a lesser extent, in Kurku and the other branches of Munda) very often stands for *k*, modern Kherwari represents the unnasalized variant of **nā-ṅēl*, viz. **nā-kēl*. It is possible that Skr. *hala-* is the same root-word without the prefix. Although there are no morphological indications of a foreign origin, its relatively late occurrence perhaps argues in favour of this explanation [180]).

---

[179]) Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 615, derives the Skr. word from Dravidian.

[180]) Note *Lāhala- "S'abaraviśeṣaḥ"* (Hemacandra, Vararuci), the name of an aboriginal tribe. Since *Lāṅgala-* is also the name of a tribe, *Lāhala-* may be the prefixed form of *hala-* (= *S. nahẹl*). If so, the tribe may possibly have adopted the name of its *santak* or emblem. But the occurrence of such other names as *Lahaḍa-, Lahara-,* and *Ḍāhala-* warns us against rash conclusions.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

APPENDIX.

Excursus on the Proto-Munda change of cerebrals to *y*, palatals and sibilants.

§ 1. While most of the phonetic changes enumerated in the introductory remarks of the present study were already known from variants occurring in NIA. languages (although their source had not yet been ascertained) [1]), the assibilation of cerebrals has hardly been noticed [2]). Since this development will possibly meet with some disbelief, a more detailed discussion of this phenomenon may perhaps be of some use. In illustration of the Proto-Munda facts attention may be drawn to a parallel development in Dravidian. Any attempt to explain the details of the striking parallelism which can be observed between the Proto-Dravidian and the Proto-Munda phonetic development would be premature, although the facts suggest the idea that the tendency towards a convergent development which ultimately resulted in the growth of an Indian linguistic league must date back to a very early (partly pre-Vedic) period [3]). If the Proto-Munda change *ḍ* > *y*, *j* would turn out to be an inheritance from the Austro-Asiatic stage (see below, § 4), the parallel Dravidian development might possibly be due to Proto-Munda influence.

In explanation of this phenomenon it should firstly be pointed out that Tamil has a fricative sound *ḻ*, whose phonetic value may approximately be denoted by the symbol *ž*. In the modern pronunciation of Tamil this sound is partly weakened to *y* (particularly in the region of Madras), whereas in the South it has coincided with the phoneme *ḷ*. This development is not, however, restricted to modern dialects of Tamil. Many doublets in the common language show it to date back to an early period of the language. Thus K. V. Subbaya, A Primer of Dravidian Phonology 31, quotes in illustration of the Tamil change *ḻ* > *y*: *māḻku-* > *māy* "to die". Now *māy-* occurs as early as the Kuṟaḷ, and a variant *māḷ-*, id. is attested in the Tiruvācakam (9th century?). The last word, however, need not have developed from **māḻ-*. It is a methodical error, in my opinion, to assign to the prim. Dravidian language distinct phonemes *ḻ*, *ḷ*, etc., as most authorities do (e.g. Subbaya, p. 30 ff.) [4]). As a matter of fact, this is obviously based on the erroneous supposition that Tamil reflects the

---

[1]) See Turner, Introduction to his Nepali Dictionary, p. XV.

[2]) For the scarce remarks known to me, see below, p. 156. These explanations of the phenomenon are in my opinion incorrect.

[3]) Cf. also Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 597.

[4]) If these phonemes existed in the parent language at all, their modern distribution (e.g. in Tamil) does not correspond to the original state of things.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

original state of things so that divergencies in other Drav. languages should be explained as secondary developments. In reality, however, we have rather to do with a single phoneme, which may be represented in various ways (viz. as *d, l, ḷ, ṛ, r, y*) in one and the same language: no more than the Munda languages, indeed, do the Dravidian forms of speech represent a pure, homogeneous dialect (owing, no doubt, to the particular geographical and social conditions prevailing in India). The following are a few examples of this interchange, mainly taken from Tamil: *micai* "elevated place, eminence" : *mēṭu*, id., *miṭai, mēṭai* "platform". — *coli-* "to strip off, peel off" : *toli-* "to strip off, husk". — *cōr-, culal-* (*cuṇai-, cuṇaṅku-*) "to droop, faint, languish" : *toy*, id. (*toyyal* "fainting"), *tolai-* "to be exhausted, defeated, perish", *tuñcu-* "to droop, perish", *tuḷaṅku-* "to droop". — *cuvvu-* "to eat enjoy" : *tuvvu-*, id. — *cori* "to rain" (*cōri, cōṇai* "rain") : *tuḷi* "rain(ing)", *tuyaram*, id. — — Kann. *jubara* : Tam. *tuvar* "astringency" (Skr. *tuvara-*). — Tam. *cuṇṇi*, Tel. *culli* : Kann. *tuṇṇe* "penis". — [As has been observed in the Introduction this interchange must be the result of a free variation within the limits of a phoneme, cf. Kann. *tūtu, tūntu* "hole" ~ *toṛe, toḷe, toli*, id. ~ *lotta*, "a hollow, pit" (Tel. *loddi, lōya*, id., *loṭṭa* "hollow"), *loṭṭe* "emptiness, hollowness" ~ *jaḷḷu*, id. ~ Tam. *coṭṭai* "cavity" (lex. *cūci* "hole", cf. Pkt. *jhusira-*, Skr. *śuṣira-, suṣirá-* "full of holes", Pischel § 211). — Kann. *tuḍi*, Tam. *toṇṭi* "stolen article" ~ Kann. *dōcu* "to rob, plunder" ~ Tam. *coṭṭu-* "to steal". Several of these word-groups may be of Proto-Munda origin (for the first instance cf. p. 134 with p. 131, for the second cf. p. 135 with Add.) but the numerous Dravidian variants have hardly been borrowed as such. I now regard the cerebrals and the dentals as (originally "extra-phonematic") variants of the same (alveolar?) phoneme, other variants of which were *j, c, s, ṛ, r, l, ḷ, l*, etc.]

§ 2. It has been pointed out above that the change *l* > *c* dates back to at least the middle of first millennium A.D. (Kuṛaḷ). Vedic loanwords however show the same phenomenon some thousand years earlier. For the Yajurvedic word *kavāṣ-* "gaping, opening wide (of doors, thighs)" is no doubt related to Tam. *kavaṭu* "branch of a tree, forked branch, fork of the legs" (cf. Tel. *kavaṭa*), *kavuṭṭi* "space between the thighs", *kavar-* "to branch off, to fork, bifurcated", *kavar* "bifurcated branch (of trees, river)", etc. The nom. plur. is partly written *kavāṣaḥ* (Maitr. S., Vāj. S.), partly *kavāyaḥ* (Kāṭh. S., also in some mss. of Taitt. S.), which, rather than being graphic (thus Vedic Variants II § 877), reflects the double development of Drav. *l*. It may be added that Skr. *kapāṭa-* is not the older form of *kavāṭa-* "door, doorpannel" (thus Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, XLVIII) but a Sanskritized variant of it; and the IE. etymological explanations proposed for Skr. *gavīnikā-, gavīnī-* "the groins" (cf. e.g. Charpentier, KZ. 46, 44 ff.) are very dubious on account of Telugu *gavani, gavini, gaviḍi* "city-gate". Another instance of Skr. *ṣ* representing

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Drav. *ḷ* is *kaluṣa-* "muddy, turbid" (since Mhbh.) : Tam. *kaluḷ-* "to become turbid", *kaluḷ* "muddiness" (cf. *kalaṅku-* "to be stirred up, confused", etc.). But Skr. lex. *māṣa-* "blockhead" : *malvá-* "foolish", though it may be compared to Tam. *maṭṭai* "stupid fellow", *maṭaiyaṉ* "blockhead", *maṭaṉ* "ignorant person", *maṇṭu* "fool", *maṇṇai*, id., is rather of Proto-Munda origin (see s.v. *baṇḍá-*, p. 102, 104). In initial position we often find *c* for *ṣ*: thus Skr. *cuṇṭī-* (lex. *cuṇṭā-*, *cuṇḍhī-*), *cuṇḍya-*, *cūrī-* (lex. *cūḍā-*, *cūḍaka-*, *cūtaka-*) "a well", lex. *śuṣi-*, f. "hole, pit", Hi. *coyā*, etc. may be connected with Tam. *tōḷ-*, *toḷ-*, *toḷai-*, *toṭu-*, *tōṇṭu-*, *turuvu-* "to bore, dig, excavate, scoop out", *tuḷai*, *toḷai*, *toḷḷai*, *toḷku*, *toṇṭi*, *tuṉ*, *tuḷaṉai* "hole, pit", *toṭṭi* "water-trough, tub, cistern, reservoir", *coṭṭai* "excavation, cavity", *curai* "hollowness, cavity", *cūṉṟal* "scooping out". S. *sund*, *sut'*, M. Ho. *suḍ*, id. must then be Drav. loanwords [5]). The question arises whether Hi. *jurnā* "to be joined" (Skr. lex. *juṭati*, *juḍati* "binds", see Turner s.vv. *jurnu*, *juṭnu*) may be related to Skr. *ḍora-*, m.n., *ḍoraka-*, n., *dora-* (Yaśastil.), *doraka-*, n. "string" (Turner s.vv. *ḍoro*, *ḍori*, *ḍor*), all being derived from Drav. **ḍuḍ*, cf. Tam. *toṭu*, *toṭar-*, *toṭakku-*, *toṟṟu-*, *tuṉṉu-*, *tōy-* "to join, attach, etc.", *tōṭu* "collection, assemblage", *tuṇai* "partner, companion, pair, couple", *cūṭu* "bundle of leaves" (cf. Hi. *jūṛī* "a bundle of sugar-cane", *joṛī* "partner, consort, pair, couple", etc.). Skr. Pkt. *dora-* is usually connected with Skr. Pkt. *davara-*, m. "thread" [6]) (root *war-*, *wa-ḍa*, see s.v. *kabarī-*), but cf. Skr. *ḍoṇḍā-* in schol. on Hāla 174 [7]) : *ḍuṇḍubhaśabdo ḍoṇḍāyāṁ vartate, ḍoṇḍa* (*sic*) *mālāviśeṣo loke prasiddha eva*.

§ 3. The interchange of dentals (cerebrals) and sibilants in Dravidian is a much disputed problem. Pope assumed *s* > *t* for Toda; on the other hand, cf. Caldwell, Comp. Gramm. 2nd ed. (1875) 52: Tam. *t*, *d* > *c* (*peritu* > *pericu*); similarly Subbaya, op. c. (1909), p. 25 (cf. p. 30: Gondi *ḍ* > *j*, *nāḍu* > *nāju*; pp. 31, 33 f.: *l* > *y*, *ṟ* > *y*, e.g. Tam. *puḻuti* "dust" : Tulu *poye*, Tam. *kuḻi* "pit" : Tel. *goyya*, Tam. *kīṟu* "to scratch" : Tel. *gīya*). At the same time, however, he assumes *s* > *t* (p. 40: Tulu *sappu*, *tappu* "mistake", also Tam. *vācal* "door" > Mal. *vādil*). Ramaswami Aiyar, who at first refused to accept *t*, *d* > *c* (Educational Review, Madras, Jan. 1932, p. 3 off-print), later admitted the correspondence Kann. *s* : Tam. *c*, *t*, *d* (e.g. Kann. *sī* : Tam. *tī* "sweet", Kann. *esaḷ* : Tam. *itaḻ* "petal"; (see Educ. Rev., Febr. 1939, p. 1 f., March 1939, p. 2.) Similarly Tuttle, Dravidian Developments 10. Bloch, Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes (1946) accepts *t*, *d* > *s* for some cases (pp. 48, 53 ff., cf. p. 69 on Gondi *-sī*, *-jī*, in accordance with Caldwell 397). Burrow however takes the opposite view: he regards the sibilants (palatals) as original sounds, which have partly become South-Drav. *ṟ* through rhota-

[5]) Otherwise Kittel, Kann. Engl. Dict., Preface XXVI.

[6]) Since Zachariae, Gött. Gel. Anz. 1898, 472. Lidén's connexion of *dora-* with O.N. *tíðr* (Studien 42) is obviously incorrect. (Cf. Wackernagel, IF Anz. 12, 21).

[7]) See Pet. Dict. V, 1457.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

cism (Kui *ājā* "to become cool", *āspa* "to make cold" > Tam. Mal. Kann. Tel. *āṟu* "to grow cool", BSOAS. 11, 346), and partly yield *t* in South Dravidian (e.g. Transactions Philol. Soc. 1945, 118) [8]). On the other hand the comparison with Samoyede words leads him to assume original affricates (*ṯ*)*ṯs* and *ṇṯs*/*ṇḏz*, which have become *ṯṯ* and *ṇṯ*/*ṇḍ* respectively (pp. 342, 344). The assumption of a variation *ḍ* ~ *l* ~ *j*, *y* renders these theories superfluous [9]).

It should be added that this theory may also shed a new light on the problem of the relations between Drav. *c*(*s*) and *y* (see Ramaswami Aiyar, Journ. Orient. Res. 6, 1932, 11—21, and cf. Mervart, Grammatika tamil'skogo razgovornogo jazyka 48). Thus Kann. *pesar* and Tam. *peyar* "name" may be derived from **pisar* ~ **pitar*: palatalization through preceding *i* (Tuttle, Drav. Developments 14, 18) cannot explain the majority of the instances. Similarly perhaps Tam. *vay-iṟu* (*vay-iṉ*), Kann. *bas-iṛ*, *bas-uṛ*, Tulu *bañji* "belly" from **vaḍ-*/**vaṇḍ-* (cf. Kui *bandi*? But see Add. to p. 145).

§ 4. A similar phonetic development has taken place in Proto-Munda. We are however hardly justified in ascribing to Proto-Munda the phoneme *l* of Tamil since any indication of its former existence in Munda is wanting. On the other hand, the cerebral *ṛ*, which must at one time have been common to all Proto-Munda dialects, might as well account for the change of the cerebral sound to *y*, *j*, *c*, *s*, as similar developments of *r* are rather frequent. Dravidian examples have been quoted above, although Subbaya's explanation is not beyond doubt. Jespersen, Language 244, mentions some instances, belonging to women's speech, from French (*chaire* > *chaise*), Norwegian, and Chukchi. As an additional example we may refer to Mingrelian, where, e.g., *p'ira* "ready" (> **p'ija*) has become *p'iča*, see A. Dirr, Einführung in die kaukasischen Sprachen 90 [10]). In assuming a change of *ṛ* to *j*, etc., we stand on a firm ground since *ṛ* has been inherited from Austro-Asiatic, cf. S. *haṛam*, M. Bh. *hāṛām* : Khasi *rim*, Mon *tarēm* "old"; S. *hoṛ*, M. *hoṛo* (K. *kōrō*) "man" : Khasi *b-rīu* "human being"; S. *hoṛo* "unhusked rice" (So. *sárō-* "paddy") : Khasi *soh-rīu*, Mon *srō*, Khmer *srāuv*, *sróv* [*srūw*], Sakai *cāroi*.

The inference to be drawn from these examples, viz. that Mon-Khmer

---

[8]) Thus he derives Tam. *pittai* "a tuff or bundle of hair" from **piccai* (BSOAS. 11, 348) although Tam. *pīli* "peacock's feather" points rather to an original **pīḍ-* (> Skr. *piccha-*, n. "peacock's tail"). Cf. also op. c., p. 338 f.

[9]) Cf. Emeneau's recent discussion of the development of *l* to a voiceless alveolar sibilant (*s*) in Toda (Univ. in California Publ. in Class. Philol., vol. 12, 1943, p. 259, n. 27). This *s* is a different phoneme from the post-dental sibilant.

[10]) Cf. also Semang *yumpût* "grass" for Malay *rumput*, and *yūpa* "silver" for *rūpa* in many Himalayan dialects of the Tibeto-Burmese family (Linguistic Survey of India, III, 1, passim).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

and Khasi must at one time have had two different phonemes (*r* and *ṛ*) raises a number of questions which cannot be sufficiently answered as yet. Thus we may hazard the suggestion that *ṛ* is identical with the uvular *r*-sound which is ascribed to primitive Indonesian. But for a comprehensive examination of the problem of the existence of cerebrals in the whole field of Austric languages the time has not yet come [11]). It is not improbable that several of the developments of *ḍ*, *ṭ*, which we here ascribe to Proto-Munda, will later turn out to date back to a far earlier period (which would account to some extent for the very intricate character of the phonetical correspondences, which are not sufficiently explained by the assumption of dialectal variations in Munda alone). Some interesting facts, at any rate, suggest the idea that Mon-Khmer *r* (< *ṛ*) may alternate with *t* (< *ṭ*), cf. Mon *tēp* "to wink": *pharèp*, id., *khrep* "to twinkle, wink", *kharip, pemrip* "twinkle", *themrèp mot* "twinkling of an eye", Khasi *khap-rip* "to twinkle, wink", Stieng *rip* "to shut the eyes" [11a]). Munda has, by the side of S. *rip ripi* "to twitch" (M. *ripi ripi* "to wink"), *ripiṭ'* "to wink with the eyes, to blink" (M. *rāpiḍ'* "twinkling of an eye", Ho *rāpid* "to wink, blink"), variants with *j*, e.g. S. *jipạ* "to blink, close the eyes", *jipiṭ'* "to close one eye", *jạpiṭ'* "to shut the eyes, sleep, die" (M. Ho K. Kh. *jāpid* "to shut the eyes") [11b]). Hence the conclusion that an inherited *ṛ* has become *j* in Proto-Munda may be tempting. But then, Santali has also *lip lip* "to tremble, quiver, twinkle", which suggests that either the changes *ḍ* > *r*, *l*, *j* are specific developments of Munda alone, or rather, that all these variants have been inherited from an earlier (Austro-Asiatic or Austric) stage of the language. (Cf. Semang, Malay *kĕlip* "to wink", Mal. *kĕjap* "a wink"?). Although I am not qualified to decide this question, attention may be drawn to such cases as S. *ruṇ̀ ruṅ* "clear and transparent", *ruṭuṅ ruṭuṅ* "transparent, clear", *ṭuṅ ṭuṅ*, id. (Central Sakai *rĕṅlēṅ* "clear, limpid"?): Mon *leyung* "to be clear or bright", *sung* "to be clear, limpid, serene, calm"; or So. *jĕru-*, Central Sakai *jĕrö*, Bahnar *jöru*, Stieng *jōruh*, Mon *jeröh* "deep" : Mon *soh* "to be deep, a chasm, a gulf", *süh, myüh* "to be deep", *temyüh* "deep", *lemyüh, leyüh, peyüh* "depth" [12]). It must be left to specialists to decide whether such traces of the changes *ḍ* > *l*, *j*, *y* do exist in Mon-Khmer (and Indonesian). We shall here confine ourselves to the quotation of some Munda examples.

§ 5. *ḍ* > *y*: S. *ṭhọyọ* "hollowed, empty; to eat (worms)", *ḍhoya, ḍhọyọ* "to eat (worms)", *ṭhuiạk'* "an empty cocoon", *ṭhọerak'* "to hollow

---

11) Schmidt leaves this problem unsolved for Mon-Khmer (see e.g. Mon-Khmer-Völker 92, Grundz. Lautl. Khasi-Spr. 739).

11a) Another instance of *r* < *ḍ* is Khasi *shin-tur* "mouth" : Semang *tĕ-nud*, So. *t'ōd-*, Pareng *tōt*, etc. (see below s.v. *śuṇḍā-*).

11b) Cf. Nep. *jhimjhimāunu* "to wink", *jhimko* "a wink", *cim* "closing the eyes, blink" (noun), *cimcim* "blinking", Hi. *jhapkī* "a wink, blink, twinkle".

12) See also below, p. 135, on the nasalization of *j*, c. *s* < *ḍ*, *ṭ*.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

out", *ṭhaekoḳ' ṭhaekoḳ'* "left alone, empty" : *ṭhoṭeo, ḍhoḍeo, ḍoḍhor* "hollow" (Nep. *ṭoṛko* "a big hole", Hi. *jhajhrī* "full of holes", etc.). — *thoyoṭ' thopoṭ' = thoroṭ' thopoṭ'* "tired, fatigued" and *thioṭ' thoyoṭ', thoyoṭ' thoyoṭ' = thoroṭ' thoroṭ'* "languidly" (root *ḍa-ḍa*). — *ḍui ḍui, lui lui, luj luju = ḍul ḍul* "to make pregnant" (*ḍa-ḍa*). — *ṭhoe ṭhoe* "to famish, to be utterly poor" : *ḍhaṇḍkao* "to be stripped, utterly poor", *ṭoṭa, ṭoṇṭa* "to be in want of" (*ḍa-ḍa*, see *daṇḍá-*). — *ṭoya* (*tūibuṭ', tūiguṭ'*) "stupid, idiotic" : *thoto, loṛo*, M. *ḍoṇḍo*, id. (cf. Skr. *śoṭha-*, Hi. *ṭhoṭ, ṭhos*, etc.). — *ṭuyuṭ' ṭuyuṭ'* "tremblingly", *susu susu* "to shiver" : *ṭur ṭuraụ, ṭun ṭunaụ* "to tremble, to shiver" (cf. *thar tharao*, id. < Hi. *thartharānā*, see Turner 294, Chatterji 504; and cf. on the other hand Tam. *tuṭi-*, Kann. *duḍi-* "to quiver, tremble"). — *thayoṭ' thapoṭ', thayo thapo = tharaṭ' thoroṭ', thalak' thuluk'* "hobbling" (*ṭuyul ṭuyul* "bobbing up and down", root *ḍa-ḍa*).

ḍ, ṭ > c, s: *mucur mucur, musur musur* : *muṭur muṭur* "to crunch". — *bisic' suṭic' = biṭic' suṭic'* "diligently". — *gusiaụ* "to keep oneself away", *gandac' gusuc'* : *gandac' gunduc'* "one who keeps himself away from company", *gaṇḍiạ* "close, reserved" (*ga-ḍa*). — *leṣe peṣe* : *leṭe peṭe* "muddy" (but for Hi. *lhes, les* "stickiness, paste", etc., see Turner s.v. *liso*).

Initial *j*: *jhala jhulạ* "to trim, to reduce in seize" : *dhalac' dhuluc'* "short" (*ḍa-ḍa* "stunted, short", see below s.v. *śuṇṭhá-*). — *jhaṅka jhak'* "to become awry, askew" : *dhakṛa dhoḳṛe* "twisted, awry, askew" (*ḍa-ga*, cf. Skr. lex. *ṭagara-* "squinting", Hemac. Med.) [13]). — *jhiṅkoṛ jhoṅkoṛ, jhiṅgoṛ jhoṅgoṛ* : *ḍhiṅko ḍhoṛoṅ, ḍekeṭ'* "loose, slack", *toke* "loosely inserted" (*ḍa-ga*). — *jhiloṅ jholoṅ* : *ḍhiloṅ ḍholoṅ* "loose, slack". — *jhake jhaḳi* "to pull or shove one another" : *dhaka dhaḳi* "to push one another" (cf. Hi. *jhok* "a shove or push, shock, collision", *jhokā* "blow, collision", *jhakolnā* "to shake" : *dhakkā* "shove, push, knock, jostle", *ḍhūkā* "a tap, touch, nudge", *ṭakkar* "collision", *dhakelnā*, dial. *ḍhakalnā* "to shove, push, jostle"). — *jhadga, jhedge* : *dhadra, dhedre* "worn-out, torn, etc.". — *jarac' juruc', jargac' jurguc'* : *darac' duruc', dargac' durguc'* "small (children)". Root *ḍa-ḍa* (see *śuṇṭhá-, daṇḍá-*). — S. *jola* : *dola* "marshy" (see below s.v. *jala-*). — Ho *jobe* : *ḍobe* "mud" (see s.v. *jambāla-*). — *j(h)ipir, sipir sipir* : *ṭipic' ṭipic'* "drizzling" (see s.v. *timita-*). — *jhargoc'* : *dhargoc'* "in disrepair" (*ḍa-ḍa*, see above *jhadga*). — M. *jhāmpā jhompo* : *dhāmpā dhompo* "cluster of fruits" (*ḍa-ba* "cluster", cf. Hi. *jhūpā* "collection, heap, pile" etc.). — M. *juṅkā* "hanging" : S. *ṭoṅkor, ṭaṅkur, ṭikor ṭokor* "to hang, dangle", Ho *tolgoe* "to hang" (cf. Hi. *jhuknā* "to hang down" : *ṭāgnā* "to hang up", Beng. *ṭāṅ(g)ā* "hanging", Nep. *ṭāṅnu*, etc.). Tam. *tūṅku-, toṅku-*, Kann. *toṅgu-* "to hang" are prob. Munda lws.

Initial *c, s*: *ceṇḍa* : *ṭeṇḍa* "not quite full-grown" (*ḍa-ḍa*, see below *śuṇṭhá-*). — *coṅga* : *ṭhoṅga* "pipe, tube" (cf. Hi. *cōgā*, etc., see Turner

---

[13]) As for Beng. *ṭerā* "squint-eyed" (Chatterji 490) see below, p. 156.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

s.v. *cūgo* and cf. *ḍhuṅro* "tube, funnel", Bashkarik *ḍoṅ* "hole"). — *ramcam* "standing out", M. *rombā combā* "many-branched" (both from *ḍa-wa* "bifurcated, wide apart"). — *sẹmẹc'* "small" : *ṭẹmẹl*, id., *ṭẹmẹc'* "shallow" (*ḍa-wa* "low, flat", cf. *ḍẹblẹ*, Ho *tembe* "shallow", Nep. *thepco* "lowered, flattened", etc. see *cipiṭa-*). — *siọ soyọ* "trickling down" : *dhiọ dhoyọ*, *ṭiọ ṭoyọ* "leaking". — *sipi sipin'* : *ṭipi ṭipi*, *ṭipin' ṭipin'* "tinkling". — The circumstance that the nasalized form of *j*, *c*, *s* (< *ḍ*) is *n'*, just as is the case with ancient palatals, suggests a pre-Munda origin of the assibilated cerebrals; e.g. S. *n'ọ̄họ̄t'* "to graze, barely touch" : *cọhọt'*, *ṭọhọt'* "to touch with one's foot in passing" (cf. K. *ṭokot'* "to stumble against").

§ 6. Many Aryan words are to be explained in this way. Thus Skr. *jhijjī-*, *jhiñjhī-* "cricket", by the side of *jhăḷā-*, *jhallīkā-*, *jhilli-*, *jhillarī-*, *jhillikā-*, *jhirī-*, *jhirikā-*, *jhīrukā-*, (Pkt. *jhāruā-*), *cillī-*, *cīl(l)ikā-*, *cillakā-*, *cīrī-*, *cīrikā-*, *cīrukā-* (and *cañcalī-?*), point to an original **jiḍi* or **ḍiḍi*. Cf. M. *tete* "cricket" (Rakhal Das Haldar), Pkt. *teḍḍa-*, Hi. *ṭiddā* "grasshopper", *ṭiḍḍī*, *tīḍī*, *tīṛī* "locust", Kann. *jiṭṭi*, *ciṭṭe* "id., grasshopper". — Skr. *ciñcā-* "tamarind" has many variants, e.g. *ciñciṇī-*, *caṇḍa-*, *tintiḍa-*, *tintiḍī-*, *tintiḍikā-*, *tintiḍīka-*, *tintilī-*, *tintilikā-*, and, with a Proto-Munda prefix, *sutintiḍā-*, *sutintiḍī-*. Cf. also Skr. lex. *cuñcurī-*, *cuñculi-* "a play with tamarind seeds". Pali has *tintiṇī-*, *tintiḍikā-*, *tintiḷikā-*; cf. Old Beng. *tentulī*, mod. Beng. *tẽtul*, etc. See Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, 222, Geiger, Pali 60, Chatterji 483. The radical element is *ṭiḍ* (*ṭiṇḍ-*, *ṭiṇ-*), cf. Telugu *cinta* with only the first cerebral assibilated (as in Skr. *caṇḍa-*). Modern Munda has also reduplicated forms, cf. Kh. *tenton*, So. *tittin-*. (In "A Manual of the Sora Language" Ramamurti writes *tīttin-ĕn*, p. 72, or *tittin-ĕn*, p. 77, whereas both dictionaries give *tittī-n*, as though the word were *tittī-*. There can be little doubt as to the correctness of the former form). — Skr. *ḍayana-* = *ḍallaka-* "hammock for carrying objects in" stands for **ḍaḍa-*, cf. S. *dhaluc' dhaluc'* "with an up and down motion", etc., and cf. *ḍolā-*, *dolikā-* "swing, cradle", *jholikā-* "cradle (?)" (see Schmidt, Nachträge s.v.), Nep. *jholuṅgo* "a swinging cradle". — Skr. *ni-miṣ-* "to close the eyes", Pkt. *miñcana-* "closing of the eyes", Hi. *mīcnā* "to close" : Panj. *mīṭnā*, Mar. *miṭṇẽ*, id., Skr. *mīl-* (since ṚS.; with Proto-Munda *l* which explains the absence of *ḷ* in Aryan, see Lüders, Philol. Indica 551). The original meaning is prob." (to press) close together" (see Turner s.v. *micnu* "to press, squeeze, crowd"). — Skr. lex. *lūṣati*, *loṣa(ya)ti* "steals" : *luṇṭayati*, *luṇḍa(ya)ti*, *ruṇṭhati*, *ruṇḍati*, id. Root *luḍ-* or *ḍuḍ-*, cf. S. *locra*, *locro*, *locaṅ luciṅ*, *lacaṅ locaṅ* "pilfering, thievish", *luṛạ chuntạ* "snatching away, to grab away", *lusrạ lusri*, *lucrạ lucri* "prone to steal" (*lucạ* = Hi. *luccā* "thievish"). A variant of *locra* is S. *cocra*, which however seems to be derived from S. *cor* = Skr. *cora-* "thief". As for the last word, the details are far from clear. *Cora-* stands for **coṛa-* < **coḍa-* (cf. Hi. *coṭṭā*, Nep. *coṭṭo*), which cannot be separated from Tamil *cōl-*,

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

cōr-, coṭṭu-, curru- "to steal, grasp, etc.", *cūrai* "robbery" [14]). On the other hand, Tam. *toṭuvu* "theft" and *toṇṭi* "stolen article" (Kann. *tuḍi*, id.) and prob. Nep. *thut-thāt* "thieving, pilfering" also point to a root *ḍuḍ* (either Drav. or Munda). — Skr. lex. *laśa-*, m. "gum" (see Turner s.v. *lassā*), S. *lasak' pasak'* "sticky", *loc phocao* "gummy, viscous" : *laṭak', jaṭak', laṭkao, leṭkom, jeṭkom* "to adhere, stick to", *leḍ* "miry pool", *jeṛ jeṛ* "sticky, viscid". As for Nep. *laspas* "contagion", cf. S. *las pas, laṭ paṭ* "sticky, muddy". — Skr. lex. *jhumbarī-* "a kind of lute" : *tumbī-vīṇā-*, id., *tumba-* "gourd". — Skr. *śākinī-*, f. "witch" : *ḍākinī-*, id. (derivation unknown). — Skr. *śāka-*, n. "eatable herbs" : Pa. *ḍāka-*, id. (same remark). — Skr. *cáṇḍa-* "fierce, violent", which Turner, BSOS. 5, 129, Nep. Dict. s.v. *cāṛo*, derives from **candra-* on account of Si. *caṇḍro* "passionate", cannot be separated from Nep. *jaṇḍa, jaṇḍo* "hot-tempered, fierce" (cf. Hi. *jhallā*?). We may accordingly compare S. *coenda* "hot-tempered, irascible, hasty, passionate", *corṭha, corcoṭa*, etc. "passionate, bad-tempered" : S. *ṭheṇṭa*, id. — Skr. *śāva-*, m. "young of an animal", Pkt *chāva-*, Pa. *chāpa-*, id. : S. *ḍebe* "dwarfish, small", *ṭembe ṭuraṛ* "small (animals, children)", etc. Root *ḍa-wa* "stunted, small" (see s.v. *tūparā-*). — Skr. *tu-ṣāra-*, m. "frost, rime" : *ṭhāra-*, id. (Kāty. S'S.) [15]). Root *ḍa-ḍa*, cf. Skr. *jaḍa-* "cold, cool", S. *jaḍwahi, jaḍwas* "feeling very cold" : Hi. *ṭhaṇḍhā* "cold". — Skr. *śambala-* (*sambala-, saṁvala-*), n. "provisions for a journey" survives in Nep. *sāmal-tumul*, id., an echo-word whose last member is connected with Nep. *tumaṛi* "pack, baggage". Since the last word may be related to S. *ṭhamae ṭhukaṛi* "baggage, impediments", the question arises, whether the two members of *sāmal-tumul* are variants of one and the same word (as is often the case in Munda). Cf. S. *sambar, somol, sombol* "to provide oneself with, supply, prepare", and perhaps *samṭao* "to collect, assemble", *samṭa sumṭi* "taking all along, bag and baggage". Root *ṭa-ba* or *ḍa-ba*? — Pa. *kirāsa-* : Skr. *kirāta-* (see Kern, Toevoegselen s.v.).

§ 7. Some Sanskrit words require a more detailed treatment. *K h a ḍ g á-*, m. "rhinoceros" occurs since Maitr. S., Vāj. S. and is in common use in the Class. language (Rām., Caraka, Raghuv., Daśak. 94, 18, etc.). Since Suśruta there occur variants which show that this word had come to be

---

[14]) Cf. also the Santali echo-word *luṛa chunṭa*!

[15]) Cf. Nep, *jāṛo* "coldness, chill, winter" (< Skr. *jāḍya-*). Hindi has, beside *ṭhār* "snow, frost": *ṭhir* "extreme cold", *ṭhiṭar, ṭhiṭhar, ṭhiṭhir, ṭhiṭhur* "numbedness, torpor, chilliness, cold, frost", *ṭhiṭrā, ṭhiṭharā, ṭhiṭhurā* "benumbed, torpid, chilled, impotent". Is Skr. *śiśira-*, m.n. "the cool season, hoar, frost, dew; adj. cool, chilly" (since Ath. S., Kāṭh. S.) the assibilated variant of Hi. *ṭhiṭhir*, just as *-ṣāra-* is of *ṭhāra-*? The usual connexion with Old Icel. *hél* "frost rime" (< **ke-kl-on-*) presents some difficulties since the assimilation of the vowel of the reduplicated syllable to *ir, ur* of the root syllable is comparatively young (Ved. *tistiré* : *tastiré, titiruḥ* : *tatāra*) and does not occur, so far as I see, in nominal stems (cf. *pápuri-, táturi-*). An original **śi-śira-* or **śā-śira-* is accordingly excluded by the principles of Sanskrit word-formation.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

identified with its homonym *khaḍga-* "sword", viz. *khaḍgāhva-* (lit. whose name is "sword"), *khaḍgin-* (Suśr., Kādambarī). In Tel. *khaḍgamṛgamu* "rhinoceros" the last word may have been added in explanation of the first, somewhat like the instances mentioned by Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. II, 1, 251 (cf. also *gaṇḍamṛgamu*, id.). Although Wackernagel, op. c. I, 177, suggested a foreign origin, other scholars hold it to be identical with *khaḍgá-* "sword". Cf. Uhlenbeck, who starts from the meaning "horn of the rhinoceros" (lex., prob. deduced from *khaḍgin-*), and Lüders, Festschr. Kuhn 314 (= Philologia Indica 429), who holds *khaḍga-* to be a shortened form of **khaḍgaviṣāṇa-* (cf. Ved. *sūcíka-* for *sūcímukha-*). Although any evidence of the supposed older form is wanting, Lüders maintained his view against different explanations in an article written shortly before his death (see ZDMG. 96, 1942, 81, where *khaḍgá-* is quoted as a parallel of *śiśuka-*, Pa. *susuka-*, a shortening of *śiśumāra-*).

A new light was shed on this side of the problem by an article of E. Benveniste in "Donum natalicium — Schrijnen", p. 371 ff. He draws attention to the name *καρτάζωνος* occurring in Aelian, wherefore he proposes to read**καργάζωνος* on account of New Persian *kargadān*. The same word occurs in Semitic, cf. [Accadian *kurkizānu*], Arabic *karkaddan*. From these forms he infers a 'Pre-Aryan' word with the consonants **khkzn/*khgdn*, from which he also derives Skr. *khaḍgá-*. Since *kar-* is a very common prefix in Proto-Munda, we are thus led to consider the question whether the origin of this 'Pre-Aryan' word may be in Proto-Munda, its radical element being *kaḍ-*, *gaḍ-*. If so. *kaḍ-* is due to (dialectal) unvoicing, and *khaḍgá-* contains the same guttural suffix as *khaḍga-*, "sword", and *phalgú-* "small", *phalgú-* "reddish", which are other Proto-Munda words of the Vedic language. As a matter of fact, suffixation had become a common feature of Proto-Munda word-formation as early as the Yajurvedic period.

The existence of a Proto-Munda radical element *gaḍ-* (*ga-ḍa*) is proved by another Sanskrit word for rhinoceros, viz. *gaṇḍa-*, m. (Haravijaya, S'ukasaptati), *gaṇḍaka-*, m. (Kādambarī, Yaśastil., Deśīn. 7, 89 comm.), *gaṇḍāṅga-*, m. (lex.). The last word is obviously due to popular etymology, *gaṇḍa-* having been taken in the sense of boil. (As for *gaṇḍakamṛga-*, Deśīn. 7, 57 comm., Tel. *gaṇḍamṛgamu*, Tam. *kāṇṭāmirukam*, see above). The correctness of this etymology was advocated by Lüders, ZDMG. 96, 1942, 56, n. 3, who held the proper meaning to be "der mit Beulen versehene". But Khasi *kynda* "rhinoceros", which represents Austro-Asiatic **gĕnda* furnishes conclusive proof of the Austro-Asiatic origin of *gaṇḍa-*. P. C. Bagchi's connexion of Skr. *gaṇḍāra-* (?) with Sakai-Semang *gantir, gĕntäl, sogāntēl* "elephant" [16]) is accordingly to be rejected. As for the NIA. forms of the word, Hi. *gēṛā*, *gaiṛā*, Panj. *gaiḍā*, Guj. *gēḍo*, Mar. *gēḍā* (see Turner s.vv. *gaiṛo*, *gaiṇo*) show an interchange e : *ai* against a

16). See Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, Introd. p. XXVI.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

of Sanskrit, which too, is an indication of Proto-Munda origin. Cf. Mar. *maind, maīd* "lazy, stupid" : Skr. *manda-* (Bloch 75; see p. 102, n. 145).

While *ga-ṇḍa-* represents a "prenasalized" form of the root *ga-ḍa*, the nasalized variant *ga-ṇa* occurs in *gaṇotsāha-*, m. "rhinoceros" (Trikāṇḍaśeṣa). As it cannot possibly be a compound of the Sanskrit words *gaṇa-* and *utsāha-*, we may suppose that it is a Sanskritization of **gaṇochāha-* (cf. Skr. *utsuka-* for **ucchuka-*, from *icchā-*, Wackernagel–Debrunner, KZ. 67, 1942, 155 f.). This form contains the wellknown Proto-Munda suffix *-(a)ha* (cf. *kalaha-, laḍaha-, maṭaha-*) and the derivative element *-oca-, -osa-* (cf. S. *laḷoc, khakoṣia, leṛoṣia*, etc. and see p. 118 on *lālasa-*)[17].

The question remains to be answered how the Iranian and Semitic forms of this word are to be accounted for. As has been pointed above, they contain a Proto-Munda prefix *kar-* and a suffixal element *-n*, which may also be of Proto-Munda origin. The interchange of *k* and *g* further shows that they represent two different dialectal forms. To the same conclusion points the difference between Old Iranian **kargazān*, [Accad. *kurkizānu*] (with *z*) and mod. Persian *kargadān* (with *d*), which cannot of course be paralleled with the wellknown cases where Avestan *z* and Old Persian *d* represent IE. **ĝ*, **ĝh*. Since *z* points to a fricative having been pronounced instead of *ḍ*, we must assume that two different Proto-Munda forms of this word have become known outside of India, viz. **karg/kažan* or **karg/kajan* and **kargaḍan*, which were prefixed variants of **ga-ṇa*, **ga-ṇḍa* and **khaḍ-ga*. In view of Hi. *gēd* "elephant" : *gēḍā* "rhinoceros" (cf. Bělandas of Kuala Langat *gōsēl* "elephant": Sakai *gu-sil* "rhinoceros") Skr. *gaja-*, m. may possibly be connected.

§ 8. By the side of the ancient words for "water", viz. *āp-*, f., *udán-* (*udaká-*), n., *vāri-*, n., and *salilá-*, n., the epics introduce a new word *jala-*, n. Other new words, viz. *toya-*, n., *nīra-*, n., and perhaps *ambu-*, n., have already been explained as Dravidian loanwords, see Bloch, BSOS. 5, 739. The correctness of the IE. derivations proposed for *jala-* (which is usually connected with *galati* "drips", see Uhlenbeck, Walde–Pokorny I, 690; otherwise Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, 219: Lat. *gelu*), seems therefore doubtful. As a matter of fact, most authorities admit this possibility with some diffidence ("wahrscheinlich" Uhlenbeck, "vielleicht" W.–P.). Hence it seems justifiable to draw attention to a different possible explanation.

Beside S. *daḷhi, dalahi, dal dalahi* "marsh, bog, marshy, boggy", *dalha, dolha, dola, dol dol, dol doli*(*ạ*) "marshy, boggy" (M. *dal dal*, "marsh, swampy ground"), *thal thal* "deep mud", *thala* "marsh, marshy" there occur variants with *j*, cf. S. *jola* "a very shallow lake, a sheet of water" and, with *r* for *l*, *jaṛhi* "a swamp; wet, humid, moist, marshy, swampy" (= *daḷhi*), M. *dārhā* "a pool or deep place in a river"(?). — Many NIA.

17) Skr. *ghaṇṭika-*, m. "alligator" is not clear.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi, Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

words are obviously derived from these Munda words, cf. Hi. (Mar. Nep.) *daldal* "marshy land, mire, mud, swamp", *daldalā* "marshy, boggy", Skr. *talla-*, m. "a small pond" (Yaśastil., S'rīk., cf. Vāmana 2, 1, 7: a grāmya word), Pkt. *talla-*, n., id. ("*palvalam*", Deśīn. 5, 19), Hi. Nep. *tāl* "pool, lake", Mar. *tāl* "mare de liquide répandu", Pj. *tallā*, *tallaḥ* "low-lying land", Nep. *thalthale* "marshy land", *jalāṭāl* "a flood which forms a regular lake", *jalthal* "flood", Hi. *jalthal*, *jalṭhal* "ground half covered with water, marshy ground, a sheet of water" (where *-thal* is hardly identical with *thal* "dry, firm ground" < Skr. *sthala-*, id.), Hi. Bih. *tarī* "marshy, low-lying land where grass grows, moisture, humidity, water (in opposition to *khuskī* "dry land"), low land on the banks of a river, marsh, swamp", Nep. *tari*, id., Hi. Pj. *tarāī* "lands lying at the foot of a watershed or on the banks of a river, marsh, swamp", Nep. *tarāi*, id.[18]), Hi. *jalā*, *jallā* "lake, tank, reservoir" (cf. Beng. *jalā* "marsh", perhaps also Skr. lex. *jhallarī-* "moisture", Pa. *jalla-* "moisture, perspiration", Pkt. *chillara-*, n. "*palvalam*" Deśīn. 3, 28), *jhīl* "a pool, shallow lake, marsh, morass, swamp", *jhād*, *jhādā*, *jhāḍā* "pool, marshy land", etc.

The meanings of Hi. *jalā* "pond" and Beng. *jalā* "marsh" (which are usually derived from Skr. *jala-*, see Turner s.v. *jalā*) deserve notice, although they can be due to secondary influence of such Munda words as S. *jola*. Hence, even if their derivation from *jala-* should be correct, they do not prove an original meaning "marsh" for the Sanskrit word, which, indeed, is used since the oldest texts (Epics) in the general sense of "water". On the other hand, Hi. *tarī* shows how a word for "marsh" may come to denote "water" in opposition to "dry land". In the pre-Epic period the Sanskrit rhyme-words *jalam* and *sthalam* may perhaps have developed their opposite meanings along the same line. Other Skr. words which may possibly belong to this word-family are *kulāla-* "water", *taḍāga-*, n. "pond" (cf. Hi. *jhāḍā*)[19]), *kāsāra-*, m. "pond lake" (cf. perh. Pkt. *kacchara-*, m. "mud" Deśīn. 2, 2) and Nep. *simsār* "bog, morass" (Nep. *sim* "marsh, bog" belongs to the word-group discussed s.v. *jambāla-*)[20]). Frisk's assumption of a suffix *-ra-* in *kāsāra-* (cf. Zur indoiran. und griech. Nominalbildung 41) is unfounded.

§ 9. Skr. lex. *jaṅgāla-*, m. "dyke" (Jaṭādhara in S'abdakalpadr.), cf. Beng. *jaṅgāl* (connexion with Nep. *jaṅār* "ford" improbable). From *ḍa-ka* "to obstruct" (cf. *rodha-*, m. from *rudh-*); S. *ḍhaṅ* "to cause to stick, obstruct", *ṭaṅgao* "to stop, hinder, obstruct", *jaṅge* "obstacle", So. *daṅ*, *raṅ* "to withhold, prevent, obstruct", S. *ḍhēk*, *ṭhek*, *ḍhēk ḍhōk*, *dhēk jhōk*,

---

[18]) Cf. Tuḷu *ṭār* "rivulet"?

[19]) A different explanation is now suggested by Burrow, Transactions Philol. Soc. 1945, 103 f. Neither of these derivations is quite convincing. Since *-āga-* is not common as a suffix, the possibility of *ta* + *ḍāga-* should also be taken into consideration.

[20]) Skr. *kedāra-* "a field under water" may be a Dravidian loanword, see Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 124.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

ṭẹk jhọk, aṭọk, rọkṭọk, etc. "impediment, obstacle, hindrance". Cf. also Pkt. *ṭaṅka-* m. "bank, shore" (*taṭam*, Deśīn. 4, 14), Kann. *cekkusu-* "to stop, arrest, prevent", Nep. *cheknu* "to hinder", Hi. *ḍhākar* "hedge, fence", *aṛaṅgā* "obstruction, obstacle, impediment" (with prefix *a-*) and see Turner s.v. *aṛkanu* (to be separated from *aṛinu* "to stop, halt", see above, s.v. *argaḍa-*).

§ 10. The original meaning of *jāṅgala-*, adj. (Manu, Yājñ., Suśr., Var. BS.), *jaṅgala-*, m. (also adj., Pāṇ. Lex.) "arid (land), desert, sparsely grown with trees" seems to have been "a clearing in a forest", cf. perh. Pkt. *jaṅgā-* "pasture land", (*gocarabhūmiḥ*, Deśīn. 3, 40), and S. *jhaṅgaṛ kaṭa* (*jhaṅgal kaṭa*) "forest with clearings here and there, to cut openings in the forest". H. Petersson, Studien über die indogermanische Heteroklisie 258, 89, connected it with Lith. *žãgaras* "dry branch", but the parallelism of the derivatives from Proto-Munda *ḍa-ḍa* (see s.v. *daṇḍá-*) points rather to Proto-Munda *ḍa-ga* "bare, stripped" (and "stunted, short", as in the roots discussed s.vv. *kuṇṭha-, śuṇṭhá-/daṇḍá-* and *baṇḍá-*). Cf.:

1) "to cut off": S. *ṭiṅgraṛu* "to cut off (top or branches)", Ho *caṅgā* "to pluck maizecobs" (cf. *caṅdel* "bald").

2) "clearing in the forest", see above. (S. *ḍaṅgal* "highland, dry", Beng. *ḍāṅā, ṭeṅrā* "highland", Hi. *ḍoṅgar*, etc. rather belong to the same word-family as *śikhā-*, see below; Hi. *jhāṅkaṛ, jhūṅgā* "bramble, brushwood" prob. from *ja-ga* "entangled", cf. Nep. *jagaṭo, jhāṅkro*). S. *ṭikur* "open, bare, treeless, wide", *ṭikuri*(*ṛ*) "open, dry", M. *ṭikurā* "a piece of upland surrounded by lowlands" are ambiguous (cf. *ḍa-ga* "wide open").

3) (stem stripped of leaves >) "stalk, rod": So. *ĕjāṅ-* "dry stalk", S. *ḍaṅ* "staff, pole, rod" and Hi. *ḍāṅ* "stick, club, high land"; Hi. *ḍaṅkā* "a drum-stick" [21]), *ḍhēgā* "cudgel, walking-stick", *ṭhēgā* "a small club, stick", Pkt. *jhaṅkara-*, m. "withered tree" (*śuṣkataruḥ*, Deśīn. 3, 54), Hi. *jhāṅkāṛ, jhāṅkaṛā* "leafless branch, a tree with bare branches, a leafless tree", *jaṅgrā* "the haulm or stalk of autumnal crops", Nep. *ḍāklo* "stalk, stem, stock", *ḍiṅnu* "a small stick used for driving animals", *ṭāṅo, ṭāgo* "rod, measuring rod, fishing rod", perh. also *lākhinu* "to be pruned, to be trimmed" (< **lakṣ-* according to Turner).

4) (bare, deprived of >) "poor" : S. *ṭhọṅ ṭhọṅ* "very poor, empty", *ṛẹṅgẹc'* "poor, hungry", *ḍiṅgaṛ* "poor, low, indigent, beggarly" (perh. reborrowing from Hi. *ḍīgar*), *laṅṭa* "naked, featherless, stripped of everything" (possibly influenced by Hi. *naṅgṭā*). — Cf. Skr. *raṅka-*, m. "beggar, wretch" (Mālatīm., Prabodh.), Hi. *rāṅkhā* and Pkt. *roṅkaṇa-, roghasa-*, (Deśīn. 7, 11) id. The suffixes of the Pkt. words may both be variants of *-aṭ*, which occurs in *ṛẹgọṭia*, Nep. *jhaṅkaṭ* (see sub 7, and cf. also

[21]) But cf. Turner s.v. *ḍaṅkā*.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

S. *cẽṅgoṛ*, M. *ḍiṅgṛā*, etc.). Nep. *sikre* "poorly, weak, leafless", *sikro* "sickly, poorly, weak", and *sikuṭe*, *sikaṭe* "sickly, weak, thin" no doubt also belong to this word-group, cf. Pkt *sigga-* "tired" (*śrāntaḥ* Deśīn. 8, 28), *siṁgaṁ* "lean, emaciated" (*kṛśam* 8, 28).

5) (bare, stripped >) "unmarried, having no children": S. *ḍaṅguạ* "unmarried, bachelor, barren, unfertilized (trees)", *ḍeṅga ḍaṅguạ* "who have no children as yet", M. *dāṅgṛā*, *dhāṅgṛā* "unmarried, boy, servant" (see under 6).

6) (deprived of company >) "solitary", cf. Nep. *ṭhiṅgo* "solitary, standing alone", *ṭiṅaro*, *ṭīgaro* "solitary, alone, lonely" (cf. S. *ṭiṅgraụ* "to cut off", and the Kui lw. *ṭaṅgara* "bald").

7) (bare, stunted >) "short, small" a) > "boy"; b) > "insignificant": S. *cẽṅgoṛ* "small, immature", *cuṅ* "small, insignificant", *ṭaṅgoṇ* "stunted, thin and small (tree)", *ṭaku* "to be stunted, to be backward in shooting forth ears", *rega*, *rẽgoṭia*, *rẽgoṭhia* "puny, dwarfish, undersized, stunted", *raṅgap'* "slim, slender, lean, spare", M. *ḍiṅgṛā* "dwarf and roundish", *ḍuṅguj'* "short", *dāṅgṛā*, *dhāṅgṛā* "unmarried boy, servant", *dhāṅgar* "servant". — Cf. Skr. lex. *ḍiṅgara-*, m. "servant" (Hemac.), Hi. *ḍiṅgar* "servant, slave" [22]), Jaina Pkt. *ḍikkarūva-*, *ḍekkarūva-*, Deśīn. *liṁka-* "boy" (*bālaḥ* 7, 22), Mar. *lek*, *lekrū̃* "child"; Pkt. *siṁgaa-*, m. "a youth" (*taruṇaḥ*, Deśīn. 8, 31), Mar. *śīgā* "young horse, foal"; Pkt. *rikkaṁ* "a little" (*stokam*, Deśīn. 7, 6). Cf. further Hi. *ṭuṅgā* "a short tail", *ṭuṅiyā* "very small, tiny", *ṭhẽgnā*, *ṭhīgnā* "stumpy, short", Nep. *laṅaro*, *laṅro* "lame" (orig. sense "maimed", see Turner s.v.), Hi. *laṅgar* "worthless, mean, vile" (? also "dissolute fellow, libertine, rake", see s.v. *śṛṅgāra-*), Nep. *jhaṅkaṭ* "worthless".

8) "hornless" > "deer, antelope" : S. *jhaṅkar* "axis maculatus, the spotted deer". — Cf. Hi. *jhā̃kh* "stag, elk, deer", *jhā̃k(h)āṛ*, *jhāk(h)aṛā*, *jhākhāṛā* "a leafless tree, a stag, an elk" (so called from the resemblance of its horns to a leafless tree, Platts). Words which mean "hornless" may in various ways come to denote a species of deer, cf. Nep. *muṛuli*, *mūṛuli* "female deer, doe, a woman with a shaved head" (fem. of *muṛulo*, *mūṛulo* "hornless, shaven, bald"). We may accordingly also compare Skr. *raṅku-*, m. "a species of deer, the spotted deer, the axis" (Vāsavad.), which then bears the same relation to *raṅka-* "beggar" as Skr. *rúru-*, m. "a kind of deer" does to Pkt. *rora-* "*raṅkaḥ*" (Deśīn.) [23]). *Goraṅku-*, m. "a naked man" (*nagnaḥ* Hemac.) is doubtful, see Pet. Dict.

---

22) Hi. *ḍiṅgar* "a rogue, cheat" is perhaps a different word, cf. Skr. lex. *jagala-* "deceitful" (Hemac., Med.), Hi *ṭhagnā* "to cheat, deceive", *ḍhōg* "fraud, deceit", Nep. *chakinu* "to be deceived" : S. *ṭhak*, *ṭhạkuạ*, Ho *cakad* "to cheat". See however Turner s.v. *ḍiṅgar*.

23) Nöldeke compared *raṅku-* with Pers. *raṅg* "Bergschaf" (see P. Horn, Neupers. Etym. 139) but, like most other words for "antelope", *raṅku-*, which is a word of the late Skr. literature, will be a loanword.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri.

Among the derivatives from *ḍa-ḍa* parallels are found to each of these eight semantic sub-groups, e.g. 1) S. *jharao* "to strip off"; 2) S. *ṭaṇḍi* "to clear, bare (jungle"), an open field"; 3) S. *ḍaṇḍi* "bare stem, stalk, staff", *jhaṭa* "stake, branch, pole"; 4) S. *ḍhaṇḍkao* "to be stripped, to be utterly poor" (cf. Pkt. *ṭhalla-, ḍhella-* "poor"); 5) S. *ṭhāṭ* "barren, childless", M. *ḍiṇḍā* "virgin, unmarried, barren", Kh. *diṇḍā* "virgin", etc. 6) Hi. *chaṛā* "separated, solitary, alone"; 7) see below s.v. *śuṇṭhá-*; 8) Skr. *rúru-* "deer". See further s.v. *daṇḍá-*.

§ 11. Skr. *jhampǎ-* m.f. "jump" (Hitop., Rājat., Kathās. 61, 91; 103, 8; 115, 68, cf. Speyer, Studies about the Kths. 80), *jhampati, jhampayati* "leaps" (see Schmidt, Nachtr.); the lexicographical works moreover quote *jhampāka-, jhampin-* "monkey". Variants are: *campana-*, n. "leap" (Pañcad.), *lampha-* "a leap, spring, jump" (S'abdakalpadr., which also gives *ullamphana-, pralamphana-*), cf. W. Beng. *lāph* "leap", Hi. *lapaknā*, Nep. *lapkanu* "to leap up". S. K. Chatterji, Journ. Greater India Soc. III, 1936, 49 [24]), proposes to connect *lampha-, lāph* with Nep. *lāppā* "wrestling" and Malay *lompat*, which cannot be correct, as the root is apparently *ḍa-ba*, cf. Hi. *jhap* "a spring", Nep. *ṭapkanu* "to jump, skip", Hi. *ṭapnā* "to jump", *ṭappā* "a spring, leap, jump", Beng. *ṭāp* "jumping, stamping of foot", Sant. *lep'* "to skip", etc. Rather than with Mar. *jhapjhap* (see Bloch 337), these words are connected with S. *dhaṃcuk' marte, dhaṃcul marte* "with a leap, a spring, a bound", *ḍubhaụ* "to spring, issue, as water from a spring". Note: S. *jhapaṭ, jhapoṭ, capoṭ*, "to pounce upon and press down" is influenced by *ḍa-ba* "to press" (see p. 57). Hence Nep. *jhamṭanu* "to spring upon, assault", *jhapṭanu* "to seize, to pounce upon".

§ 12. Skr. *picchā-*, f. "calf of the leg" has recently been connected with Tulu *poṭṭe*, Telugu *pikka*, Kui *pota*, Gondi *photari*, Malto *bagḍ-poṭi*, id., and further with Uralian words as Finnish *pohkea, pohje*, id., Ostyak *pec'* "thigh", etc. (see Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 347). The comparison with Uralian is based on the supposition that Tulu *poṭṭe* etc. are native Dravidian words. On the other hand, Skr. *picchā-* must be identical with *picchā-*, f. "lump, mass, heap, multitude" (Caraka, see Pet. Dict. VII, 1771); cf. such parallel instances as *piṇḍikā-*, f. "a round swelling or protuberance, esp. a fleshy one" (Suśr., Yājñav.), dual "the calves of the legs", Nep. *pīṛulo*, Bashkarik *pīṇ, pin* (< *piṇḍa-*) "calf of the leg", Pashto *yaṛai*, id. : *yaṛai* "coarse bread" (see Turner, BSOS. 5, 122). If, however, the original meaning of *picchā-* is "lump", it cannot reasonably be separated from *piṇḍa-*, m. "a round mass, lump, globe, ball, knob" (since ṚS., Taitt. S.), *piṇḍaka-*, m. "fleshy protuberances" (Harṣac.), *piḍakā-*, f. "a small boil or pimple" (Suśr.), *piṭaka-*, m.n., *piṭakā-*, f. "boil, blister" (Var. BS.,

---

[24]) See also "The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language" p. 480 on Beng. *jhā̃p*, "jump, plunge".

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Rājat.), lex. *biṭakă-*, m.f.n., id. (Rājanigh.) [25]), Pa. *piḷakā-*, f. "a small boil, pustle, pimple; a knob (of a sword)". *Picchā-* must accordingly stand for **piṭā-*, cf. Pkt. *pacchī-* "*piṭikā*" (Deś. 6, 1).

Many variants suggest a foreign origin of this group of words. Thus we find, with *u, o* for *i*, e.g. Skr. *pulāka-*, m. "lump of rice", lex. *poṭika-*, m. "boil, blister", Pkt. *puḍaiaṁ, puṇḍaiaṁ*, by the side of *peṇḍaliaṁ, peṇḍabālaṁ, perullī* (and *piṇḍaliaṁ*, comm.) "made into a lump" (*piṇḍīkṛtam*, Deśīn. 6, 54); and, with initial *b, bh*: Pa. *bheṇḍu-, bheṇḍuka-* "ball, knob, cupola, round tower", Hi. *bhiṇḍ, bhiṇḍā* "round ball or mass, lump, block", *bhelā, bhelī* "a ball or lump", Mar. *bhelī* "lump" (: Pa. *peḷa-*, id., Hi. *peṛā* "a ball or lump of leavened dough" [26]), *peṛ, pēḍ* "ball, lump"), Hi. *baṛī* "small lumps of pulse, small balls of charcoal", etc. They clearly point to a radical element **bi-ḍa, *bu-ḍa, *ba-ḍa*. The IE. derivations proposed for *piṇḍa-* are accordingly to be rejected [27]).

The question remains to be answered whether *piṇḍa-* and its congeners are Dravidian or Proto-Munda loanwords. On account of the primary meaning "fleshy swelling" *piṇḍa-* and its modern equivalents may denote several parts of the body. Thus Kumaoni *pinī* means "thigh"; cf. also Nep. *philo* "the fleshy part of the thigh and buttocks", which is an independent borrowing from the same foreign source. Now the Torwali and Bashkarik word for "thigh" is *mandal* (Kshm. *mándul*), which corresponds to Shina pal. *paṭhălo*, Kandia *phaṭălu* (Acta Orient. 18, 244). Morgenstierne, Acta Or. 8, 306, questions the derivation from Skr. *maṇḍala-* and points to Panj. *pinnī*, Palola *piṇṇī* "calf of the leg", which would, indeed, provide the most natural explanation. Since the *m-* cannot be due to assimilation, the question arises whether it may represent the Munda nasalization of *w/b/p*. It should be noted that Dardic and Kashmiri preserve several interesting Munda relics which are not known from other NIA. languages, e.g. Bashk. *šōrúṇḍ*, Palola *šōruṇḍo* "orphan" (see s.v. *daṇḍá-*), Bashk. *čüput, čipuṭ* "full" (?) Bashk. *dut*, Torw. *dūt* "lip" (see s.v. *śuṇḍā-*), Bashk. *lúkuṭ*, Kshm. *lŏkuṭ** "small" (see s.v. *kuṇṭha-*). On the other hand, variants of *piṇḍa-* with initial *m-* also occur in Sanskrit, e.g. in *moṭaka-*, m.n. "globule, pill" (: *poṭika-* "boil") and in a word for "gourd".

The gourd is denoted by several Proto-Munda words which properly mean "round and thick", e.g. *tumba-*, m. "a kind of long gourd" (from *ḍa-ba* "globular"). Thus Skr. lex. *piṇḍī-*, f. means "bottle gourd" (*alābu-*), and Hi. *peṭhā* "a kind of gourd" is apparently a modern borrowing from

---

25) Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 354, explains *piṭaka-* as a Dravidian word but ignores the existence of a variant with *b-*.

26) "Connection with Skr. *piṇḍaḥ* is not clear" (Turner s.v. *peṛā*).

27) *Piṇḍa-* has been connected with *pīḍ-* (Grassmann), with Old Engl. *flint* (see Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, 170 with bibl., but cf. Güntert, Labyrinth 22, on this word), with Lat. *puls* (Lidén, Studien zur altind. und vergl. Sprachgesch. 87, cf. Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterb. 2nd ed., s.vv. *pila* and *puls*), with Skr. *piṣ-* (PTS. Dict.), and with *piś-* (< **piṃṣṭa-*, Thieme, ZDMG 93, 1939, 133 f.).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

the same source from which Skr. lex. *piṭaṅkākī-*, *piṭaṅkokī-* "colocynth" have been taken [28]). As a matter of fact, Skr. lex. *peṭālu-*, *peṭakandaka-*, m. "a tuberous plant" (: lex. *piṇḍālu-*, *piṇḍakanda-*, id.) show that *peṭ-* is an ancient variant of *piṇḍ-* (cf. Pa. *peḷa-*, Hi. *bhelā*, *peṛā*, quoted above). Now, Skr. *kuṣmāṇḍa-*, m. "pumpkin, gourd", which is clearly a Proto-Munda word with prefix *kuṣ-*, has the following modern equivalents: a) with *m-*: Beng. *kumaṛā*, Hi. *kamṛhā*, Sgh. *komaḍu*. b) with *bh/p*: Pa. Pkt. *kumbhaṇḍa-*, Nep. *kubhiṇḍo*, *kupiṇḍo*. The last word is obviously a direct borrowing from Munda, with the variant prefix *ku-* (cf. Pkt. *kuhaṇḍa-*, *kohaṇḍa-* from **ku-bhaṇḍa-*) and the rootword *bhiṇḍ-/piṇḍ-*. Since *kupiṇḍo* "a particular kind of long gourd" is obviously related to Skr. *piṇḍī-* "bottle gourd", it follows that *piṇḍa-* and *picchā-* are Proto-Munda words. The native character of Tulu *poṭṭe*, etc. is accordingly rather doubtful. Note also Hi. Mar. *phūṭ*, Beng. Nep. *phuṭ* (Sanskritized *sphuṭi-*, lex.) "melon", and Skr. lex. *bhaṭā-* "colocynth" (Beng. *bhāṭā* "ball, egg-fruit"): *cirbhaṭī-* "cucumber" (Pañcat.), *carbhaṭa-*, m., id. (lex.), *cirbhiṭā-* "gourd" (lex.). No connexion with Old Engl. *hwerfette* (Uhlenbeck).

Skr. *kūṣmāṇḍa-* (Yājñav., Bhāg. P., Kathās.), *kūśmāṇḍa-* is also the name of a group of demoniacal beings; cf., e.g., in the śravaṇaphala of the Vetāla tales: *Yakṣavetālakūṣmāṇḍaḍākinīrākṣasādayaḥ* (Kathās. 99, 29). In Buddh. Skr. *kumbhāṇḍa-* (= Pa. *kumbhaṇḍa-*, m. "a class of fairies or genii grouped with Yakkhas, Rakkhasas and Asuras") is used instead, which the Pet. Dict. explains as a compound of *kumbha-* and *āṇḍa-*. Both names probably denote pot-bellied beings like the Yakṣas. Cf. *udumbála-*, epithet of goblins in the Ath. S., and *Hiḍimba-*, name of a Rākṣaṣa (see p. 66), which bear the same relation to *tumba-*, m. "gourd" as *kūṣmāṇḍa-* does to *kuṣmāṇḍa-*, m. "gourd".

As has been shown above (s.v. *ḍimba-*), words for "bean, pulse" are sometimes derived from roots with the general meaning "globular, thick, roundish". The following words seem to be derived from the same root as *piṇḍa-*, *picchā-*:

with *baṭ-*: Skr. lex. *barbaṭa-*, m. *barbaṭī-*, f. "vigna catjang" (Dolichos sinensis, cf. Helen M. Johnson, JAOS, 61, 170), Nep. *boṛi* "a partic. kind of bean", Hi. *būṭ* "chick-pea".

with *maṭ-*: Guj. Mar. *maṭh*; with suffix *-ar*: Hi. Beng. Nep. *maṭar*, Panj. *maṭṭar*, *mattar* "pea, Pisum sativum". — S. *maṭor*, *moṭor*, and M. *matar* "a kind of pulse, Pisum sativum" are prob. loanwords from Aryan, but cf. M. *batura*, S. *baṭra* (Campbell) "a kind of pulse" : Kh. *batur* "bronchocele, elephantiasis".

with *mas-* : Skr. *māṣa-*, m. "bean" (since Ath. S., Vāj. S., Kāth. S.), Hi. *māṣ*, id., Nep. *māṣ* "lentil". With the same suffix as found in Hi. *maṭar*: Skr. *masūra-*, m. "lentil, Lens esculata" (Roxb. Cicer lens) (since

---

[28]) Cf. Hi. *kubaṛ* : Skr. *kubhra-*, (p. 43), Nep. *ṭuhuro* (p. 75), *tumbo*, etc.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Vāj. S.), cf. Hi. *masūr, masūrā, masūrī* "a kind of pulse or lentil, Ervum hirsutum or Cicer lens", Nep. *musuro*, etc. The original meaning "swollen" accounts for Pa. *masūraka-* "bolster" (cf. *masāraka-* "a kind of couch")[29].

Hi. *peṭ* "belly, stomach" is usually derived from **peṭṭa-* = Skr. *peṭa-, piṭaka-* "basket" (see Platts, Turner s.v. *peṭ*, etc.). Taken in itself, this is quite possible. The existence, however, of Pkt. *poṭṭa-*, n. "belly" (*udaram* Deśīn. 6, 60), Mar. *poṭ*, id. suggests that the relations between *peṭ* and *peṭa-* are not so simple as this explanation presupposes. Bloch 371 derives Mar. *poṭ* from Skr. *puṣṭa-*, whereas Turner connects it with Nep. *poṭi* "bulb", Skr. *puṭa-*, m. and modern words for "bundle"[30]. There can be little doubt, however, as to the Munda origin of Mar. *poṭ*, cf. S. *poṭa* "stomach, belly" (Hi. *poṭā*): *poṭea, poṭeoṭ', peṭreṭ', beṭreṭ'* "big-bellied", Ho *puti* "to have a swollen stomach", etc., and numerous other words as S. *biḍo boḍo, bhiḍo bhoḍo* "fat, corpulent", *biṇḍiol boṇḍeol, bhaṇḍa bhoṇḍo, bhuṇḍa* (etc.), id., *darmoṭ, datmoṭ* "sturdy, robust" (*ḍa-ḍa* + *ba-ḍa*). The original meaning is "swollen", cf. S. *poṭe* "to bulge, to form within the sheath (paddy, etc.)", *poṭkel* "to bud (the breasts)", *beker beṇḍaṅ* "swollen, puffed up, to swell up, become distended". If, however, Mar. *poṭ* is a Munda loanword, Hi. *peṭ* "belly", *peṭal* "big-bellied" must be derived from the same source. Nasalized variants are, e.g., Hi. *moṭ, moṭā, moṭal* "fat, plump, stout, corpulent" (see Turner s.v. *moṭo*)[31]: Nep. *bhūṛe* (*bhūṭu*?) "big-bellied". It follows that the whole wordgroup of Tam. *pottai* "anything large or bulky" (*pottaiyaṉ* "stout man"), *moṭu, mottai* "bigness, bulkiness", *motti* "protuberance, swelling", Kann. *poṭṭe, bojje* "belly, paunch", *poḍe* "belly, pregnancy, pregnant ear of corn" (cf. Tam. *potti* "ear of grain in sheath"), *bojju* "pot-bellied" : *mōdu* "boil, tumor", *mudde* "roundish mass, ball, roundish lump" must be of Munda origin.

As for *peṭa-*, etc. "basket", it cannot be decided whether its original meaning was "bulging" or "plaited". This group shows the same variation of *e* and *o* as the word for "belly", e.g., Tam. *peṭṭi, poṭṭi* "box". Some instances suggest a connexion with the words for "bundle", e.g. Kann. *moṭṭe* "a leather bag, a bundle, load" : *puṭṭi, buṭṭi* "basket made of cane, bamboo or palmyra leaves". On the other hand, Hi. *meṭ, meṭā* "earthen water-pot, jar, pitcher", *mīṭ, mīṭā* "pitcher, cup" perhaps point to a primary sense "roundish"[32]. Equally obscure are Skr. *samudga-*, m. "small round box"

---

[29] Cf. Kann. *mūḍe, mūḍave* "pillow, cushion" (: *mudde* "roundish mass, ball, lump")? Pa. *cumbaṭa-, cumbaṭaka-* "pillow" is ambiguous; like M. *rāmbārā, rāmbṛā* "a kind of pulse, Phaseolus Roxburghii", it may either contain a prefix (*cum-, rām-*) and the root *ba-ḍa*, or a root *ḍa-ba* (see *ḍimba-*) and a suffixal element *-aḍ* (*-aṭ, -aṛ*).

[30] See for these words s.v. *meṇḍha-*.

[31] Sgh. *moṭa* "blunt" is a different word. It belongs, like the corresponding Dravidian words, to the affiliation of *baṇḍā-*.

[32] Cf. such parallel instances as Pa. *kolamba-* "pot, vessel", (< **ko-ḍamba-*), Hi. *ḍibiyā* "a tiny box or casket", *ḍubhā* "a small kind of water-pot", *ḍabrī* "an earthen water vessel, cup, bowl", *ḍabbā, ḍibbā* "a round wooden box, casket", etc., from Munda *ḍa-ba* "roundish" (see *udumbára-, ḍimbha-, āḍambara-*, etc.).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

(Rām., Suśr., Yājñav.), "round form of a temple" (Var. BS.), Pa. *samugga-* (v.l. *sumugga-*, see Geiger, p. 46 f.) "box, basket" [33]).

The last word leads us to consider the question, if Skr. *mudga-*, m. "kidney bean, 'black gram', Phaseolus radiatus Linn." (Pa. *mugga-*, id., Nep. *muṇ*, *mūg* "lentil") may be connected with *māṣa-*, m. "kidney-bean, 'black gram', Phaseolus mungo Linn." [34]). Many Santali words for "fat" contain a "suffixed" *g* (which is probably due to a blending of *ba-ḍa* and *ba-ga* "fat"), e.g. *baḍgoṭ'*, *boḍgoe*, *baḍgae boḍgoe*, *bhiṇḍgo bhoṇḍgo*, *bōṇḍkol*, etc. "exceedingly fat, strapping". Both species of the Phaseolus are closely related, and *mugga-* and *māsa-* are usually combined in the Pali texts (see PTS. Dict.) [35]). Variants with *ḍ*, it is true, are wanting (Hi. *moṭh* "Phaseolus aconitifolius" is from Skr. *makuṣṭha-*, id.), but cf. *garmūṭ-*, f. "bean" and *bud-* in *arbuda-*, m.n. "long, round mass, foetus in the 2nd month after conception, swelling, tumour, polypus" (Nir., Suśr., Yājñav.), Pa. *abbuda-* "tumour, cancer, sore, foetus, etc.", which are clearly Proto-Munda words (prefix *ar-*). Ved. *árbuda-* (in the youngest maṇḍalas *arbudá-*; later also *arbudha-*, *arvudha-*, e.g. Bhāratamañj. 3, 616) is probably the same word. Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, XXII, acknowledges its foreign origin, but it is not clear what its primary meaning was. Konow, The Aryan Gods of the Mitani People 25 ff., holds the Mount Abu to be meant in all Rigvedic passages, "the isolated Arbuda mountain being appropriately designated as a tumour of the earth" (p. 29). See also Hillebrandt, ZII. 3, 14 f. (a mountain in Kashmir?). As it was probably believed to represent the primordial hill, the abode of the serpent Vṛtra, the serpent demon *Arbuda-* (S'at. Br.) must have been named from the mountain.

The primary meaning of *ba-ḍa* was "swollen, (fleshy) protuberance", which accounts for M. Ho *buṭi* "navel" (Tel. *boḍḍu*, id., Nep. Beng. *bhũṛi* "abdomen, belly") and Skr. *poṭika-*, m. "boil", Hi. *phoskā* "blister" [36]), as well as for Pkt. *velă-*, *ṇimeḷa-*, *ṇimela-* "gums" (*danta-māṁsam* Deśīn. 7, 74, resp. 4, 30) [37]), Nep. *philo* "the fleshy part of the

---

[33]) In the Śat. Br. occurs *arkasamudgáu* (Pet. D. "Hülse einer Pflanzenfrucht", Böhtl.: "Knospenspitze"), which however hardly supports the derivation from *saṃ-ud-gam-* (Patañjali, Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, 181); according to Sāyaṇa it denotes two opened "lip-parts" at the top of the Arka-pod (Eggeling a.l.). The word is probably composed of a prefix *sa-*, *su-* (cf. *su-ruṅgā-*, *sā-raṅga-*, Acta Orient. 17, p. 30 ff., 310) and a root word *mudga-*. But, while the meanings given in the Pet. D. suggest an original sense "roundish", the Mitākṣarā derives it from *mudga- "pidhānam"* (cf. also Tel. *samudgamu* "a casket, a covered box", Kann. *samudga*, id.).

[34]) See Helen M. Johnson, JAOS. 61, 168.

[35]) Similarly *mudgara-*, m. "mallet" (cf. *músala- muśala-*, *muṣala*, n. "pestle", K. *mundā* "to beat") from *buḍ-* (Pa. *poṭheti*, *potheti* "to beat, strike")? But cf. Tam. *mōṭu-*, *mottu-*, Tel. Kann. *mōdu-*, id.

[36]) Cf. Ho *pusri* (*pursi*) "pimple". Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 354, derives the Hi. word from Dravidian.

[37]) Unlikely Pischel § 122 (< **nipīḍya-*); *ni-* is a Proto-Munda prefix, see p. 124, n. Cf. perhaps Skr. *puppuṭa-*, m. "Anschwellung an Gaumen und Zahnfleisch" (: *puppula-* "Blähung", *pupphusa-*, *phupphusa-*, *phuphusa-*, Pa. *papphāsa-* "lungs").

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

thigh and buttocks" [38]), Hi. *pūṭh*, *puṭṭhā* "the buttock" (Sanskritized *pŭṭa-*, lex.) [39]), Tam. *puṭṭam* "buttock, pudendum muliebre". Cf. also Sgh. *puranu* "to swell" (see Turner s.v. *phurnu* "to throb, to swell"), Nep. *phulinu* "to swell, to be puffed up", Hi. *phulaurī* "a small puffed cake", Nep. *phul* "egg, testicle" (orig. "swollen", cf. W. Pah.koci *pinni*, rampur *pīnni*, id. < **piṇḍ-*, see Turner, BSOS. 5, 129). In Munda we find on the one hand Ho *peṭo*, *pero* "egg, testicle", M. *peṭo* "egg", on the other hand, S. *bele*, M. *bili* "egg, testicle", Ho *bili* "egg" (cf. Pa. *biḷālī-* "bulbous plant, tuber" and Skr. *pela-*, m. "testicle") [40]). Dravidian loanwords are, e.g., Kann. *moṭṭe* "egg" (: *moddu* "lump, mass", *mōdu* "boil, tumour") and Tam. *potti* "scrotum", *puṭṭā* "swollen testicle", *puṭṭai* "elephantoid scrotum", *pōnti* (Tel. *bōda*) "swelling", Kann. *buḍḍe* "a rising or swelling, a swollen testicle" (cf. Pkt. *pottaa-* "swollen testicles", Deśīn. 6, 62). As for Lith. *paũtai* "testicles" see Specht, Urspr. der idg. Deklin. 220. Skr. *muṣká-*, m. "scrotum" (since ṚS.) is of IE. descendance, cf. Lat. *musculus*, Greek *μύσχον* (see Brugmann, Grundriß der vergl. Gramm. der idg. Spr., II, 1, 483).

From the same root are obviously derived Skr. *vaṭī-*, f., *vaṭaka-*, *vaṭṭaka-*, m., *vaṭakā-*, *vaṭikā-*, f. "a small lump, pellet, pill" (Lex. *vaḍā-*, f., id., *vaṭin-* "circular, globular"), Pa. *vaṭaka-* "a small ball or thickening, bulb, tuber", *vaṭṭi-* "lump, ball" (or < **vṛtti-*?), *vaṭhara-* "bulky, gross" (Buddh. Skr. id.), *varaka-* "the bean Phaseolus trilobus". Cf. Hi. *baṛā*, *baṛī* "lump of pulse", Nep. *bari* "pellet, pill", etc., and S. *buṛi* "small balls, pill", M. *buṛu* "cakes made of pulse". Possibly Hi. *baṛā*, Nep. *baṛo*, Mar. *vāḍ*, etc. "big, large, important" have the same origin, the Aryan word *mahān* having been supplanted by a vulgar word for "thick". Note especially Torwali *bār* "thick, fat". The modern word is usually derived from Skr. lex. *vaḍra-*, cf. Pkt. *vaḍḍa-* "*mahān*" (Deśīn. 7, 29) [41]), which however may be Proto-Munda loanwords, cf. Skr. *ulbaṇa-* "massy, thick, big, huge, full of" (with prefix *ul-*), Skr. Pa. *vaṭhara-* "bulky" and Pkt. *viḍḍira-* "expanse, extension" (*ābhogaḥ* Deśīn. 7, 90, cf. Skr. lex. *pāṭa-*, m., *piṇḍa-*, id.), *bodara-* "*pṛthuḥ*" (6, 96), and *peḍhāla-*, *pejjāla-* "*vipulaḥ*, *vartulaḥ*" (Deśīn. 6, 7), which Pischel § 122 rightly combines with *piṇḍa-*; Nep. *phāḍilo* "capacious, large", Beng. *phāṛ* "circumference" (< *phaṇḍa-*?), *pāṛ* "huge, ungainly, ugly" (< *paṇḍa-*? Chatt. 496, 365). Only a more detailed investigation could decide this question. Nor can I enter into a discussion of such ambiguous words as *puñja-*, m. "heap, lump, mass,

---

[38]) Unlikely Turner s.v. (< **sphijalla-*?).

[39]) Cf. the parallel instance Skr. *pota-* : Hi. *poṭā* "young of an animal" (see p. 100).

[40]) As for *pela-*, see Schmidt, Nachträge s.v. — The original meaning of S. *bele*, M. Ho. *bili*, K. *bīlī*, Kh. *belom*, G. *bullo* "to ripen" may have been "to swell" (Konow, Gött. Gel. Anz. 1906, 234, compares Khmer *ple*, Bahnar, Stieng *plei* "fruit").

[41]) Cf. Bloch 405, Turner s.v. *baro*; otherwise Chatterji 496 (*baṛā* < **vaṭa* < *vṛta-*). Paravastu Venkata Ramanujaswami in his edition of the Deśīnāmamālā, Introd. p. 8 and Glossary 76 (*vaḍḍa-* from Tel. *oḍḍu*) and Tedesco, JAOS. 65, 1945, 88, 91 f. (< *vṛddha-*).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

multitude" (cf. lex. *pañjala-* "a bulbous plant"), lex. *pola-*, m. "mass, multitude", *paṭala-*, n., *paṭalī-*, f. "heap, mass, multitude", *sphuṭ-* (Pa. *phoṭa-*, *phoṭaka-* "swelling, boil, blister"), *puṭa-*, *phaṭā-*, *phaṇa-*, etc.

It should however be observed that Nep. *bhelā* "crowd" is to be separated from Hi. *bhelā* "lump" as it belongs to a root *biḍ-* "to be crowded", cf. Hi. *bhīṛ* "multitude, crowd, throng", *bhiṛnā* "to draw near, come together, close to", Si. *bhiṛaṇu* "to meet" : *miṛaṇu* "to crowd, throng" [42]), etc., Skr. *nibiḍa-* "thick, dense, close, tight, full of" [43]), and S. *ibil* "dense, thick, crowded, standing close together", *peṭe peṭe*, "crowded, crammed, to fill over-full", *reṭe peṭe*, *reṇṭe peṇṭe* "crowded, thronged, closely together", So. *bīdā-* "herd, flock", Mon *bet*, *sabet* "to be crowded, close together". Cf. Skr. *peṭa(ka)-*, m. "crowd" (Yaśastil.) and see p. 135 (*ni-miṣ-*).

§ 13. *S'ikhā-*, f. "top, point, summit, end; tuft or braid of hair, a peacock's crest; flame, ray of light" (S'at. Br., etc.), *śikhaṇḍā-*, m. "tuft of hair or a peacock's tail" (Taitt. Saṁh., Taitt. Br., S'at. Br., etc.), *śikhara-*, m.n. "peak, top, summit" (S'āṅkh. Br., Mhbh., Rām., etc.), *śekhara-*, m. "peak, point, summit, head, crest, garland, diadem" (Kathās., etc.). No plausible IE. derivation is known, see Uhlenbeck and Walde–Pokorny I, 455. The root element is *śikh-*, *śekh-*. Lassen, Ind. Altertumsk. I, 538, held Tamil *tōkai* "peacock" (Mal. *tōge*, etc.; hence Hebrew *tukkī* "peacock", see lastly Gray, Foundations of Language 387) to be a Southern form of Skr. *śikhin-* but neither its form nor its meaning ("feather, plumage, tail of an animal, woman's hair, anything hanging down") indicate an Aryan origin. As for the Proto-Munda formative element *-aṇḍ*, cf. S. *jhol-aṇḍ* "thicket" : *jhuṛ*, *jhoṛ*, *jhoṇḍ*, id. *S'ikhara-* and *śekhara-* either contain the variant *-āṛ* < *-aṇḍ* (cf. S. *cik-āṛ* "polished, glossy" : *cik cik*, id.) or *-aṛ* < *-aḍ* [44]), cf. Mar. *ṭekaḍ*, *ṭekāḍ*, Guj. *ṭekrī*, Hi. *ṭekar*, *ṭekrā*, *ṭegrā* "heap, mound, hillock, rising ground, declivity of a hill", Nep. *ṭākuro*, *ṭākuri* "top of a hill, summit", *ḍhikuro* "mound, heap", Kshm. *saṅgur* "a steep hill" (hardly connected with Nep. *sāguro* "narrow"). Pkt. *ṭekkara-*, n. "sthalam" (Deśīn. 4, 3) is ambiguous (cf. p. 140).

The root *ḍa-ga* "high" occurs in several Munda words, as S. *ḍoga*, *ḍogal* "top", M. *coga* "the pointed stalk of any plant left after having been cut" (unless related to the word-family of *jāṅgala-*, see above); cf. Beng. *cokhā* "pointed". This root is probably identical with *ḍa-ga* "projecting, protruding", cf. S. *ḍoḳ ḍoḳo* "very long, projecting" (according to Campbell also *ḍak ḍaka* "long, tall, high, projecting"), *rak raka* "stretched out, standing up or out" [45]), *roḳ roḳo* "high, lofty, sticking out", *rakḍaṅ*, *rakuḍaṅ*, *rakḍuṅ*, *rakṭaṅ* (combinations of two variants of this

[42]) Cf. Turner s.v. *bhiṛnu* and s.vv. *bheṭnu*, *milnu* "to meet". Unconvincing Tedesco, Language 19, 1943, 18.

[43]) With Proto-Munda prefix *ni-*, see p. 124, n. 170.

[44]) Unlikely Frisk, Zur indoiran. und griech. Nominalbildung 38 (IE. *-ro-*).

[45]) Contaminated with (or derived from?) *ḍa-ga* "wide apart".

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

root) "high, tall, lanky, etc.", *sẹk sẹkẹ* "standing out (in front)", *sọk sọkọ* "sticking out, projecting"; nasalized forms are, e.g., *ḍọṅ ḍọṅ, ṭọṅ ṭọṅ* "tall, lanky", *ḍọṅ ḍọṛọṅ* "id., toppingly high", *ḍhaṅga* "lanky, tall, big" (cf. Hi. *ḍhaṅgā*, Beng. *ḍhāṅ(g)ā* "tall"), *raṅkaṛ* "tall, high", So. *láṅkā* "high, top, above, aloft", perhaps So. *bĕdúṅ-* "hill". Cf. Mon *ketuṅ* "a point of land, a cape or a promontory"?

Other Indo-Aryan derivatives from this root are, e.g., Pkt *rokkaṇī* "horned" (*śṛṅgī*, Deśīn. 7, 16), Skr. *tuṅga-*, m. "height, eminence, mountain; adj. high, lofty, sublime" (since Mhbh., Rām.), *ṭaṅka-*, m. "peak" (Mhbh., Rām.), Hi. *ḍāg* "top", and probably Hi. *ḍhōgā* "rump, buttock, hip" [46]), *ṭīkaṭ(h)* "buttocks, posteriors" (Pkt. *dukkha-*, id.), *sūṅgā* "protuberance, hump, clitoris", which show a similar semantic development as S. *ṭiki, ḍẹkẹ* "buttocks, rump", *ḍuke* "hip" (*duṅgi, doṅga* "to carry on the hip" = *ḍọṭẹ, ṭọṭẹ*). Beng. *ṭiki* "tuft of hair, top-knot, queue", formally identical with S. *ṭiki*, has developed a similar meaning as Skr. *cūḍā-* (see below, p. 154). As for Skr. *cikura-*, m. "hair, *mountain" (lex. *cikūra-, cihura-*) [47]), see however Turner s.v. *ciuri*. The widespread word-group Pkt. *ḍuṅgara-*, m. "mountain (*śailaḥ*, Deśin. 4, 11), Hi. *ḍōgar, ḍūgar* "hill", Beng. *ḍāṅgā, ṭaṅ, ṭāṅgrā, ṭeṅgrā* "high land" (Desi *ḍoṅgā* "high land, high", see Chatterji 179, 405, 489), Nep. *ḍuṅgur, ḍaṅgur* "heap" seems to be also derived from this root, rather than from *ḍa-ga* "to bare the jungle" (see p. 140).

§ 14. Skr. *ś u ṇ ṭ h á -* denotes certain bulls and cows in the Yajurveda (Taitt. S., Maitr. S., Kāṭh. S. etc.). Although some commentaries take it as meaning "white", it is now generally translated "small", e.g. ĀpS'S. 10, 22, 6 *śuṇṭhā* "eine kleine Kuh" (Caland; *alpakāya-*, comm.). Hence *śuṇṭhākárṇa-* (Vāj. S., Maitr. S.), which Mahīdhara renders "short-eared", is a synonym of late Skr. *būṭakarṇa-* (see s.v. *baṇḍá-*). *S'uṇṭhá-* is a derivative from Proto-Munda *ḍa-ḍa* "1. stunted, short, defective; 2. bare"; this root is synonymous with the roots *ḍa-wa* (see s.v. *tūparáṛ-*), *wa-ḍa* (see s.v. *baṇḍá-*) and *ga-ḍa* (see s.v. *kuṇṭhá-*), which show the same combination of meanings. We shall here confine ourselves to the first meaning, the second being treated s.v. *daṇḍá-*. Mon-Khmer cognates are, e.g., Mon *dot* "to be young, to be small", *khamnon* "abridged, brief", *thamnon* "to be short, brief", prob. *tòn* "to mince, chop" (and *yut* "to be less, diminished"?). Only a few instances will be quoted:

Initial *ḍ* (*d*):

S. *ḍuḍạ* "short, too short", *ḍuluk ḍukur* "short, small, not properly developed", *dhuluc' dhupuc'* "small, puny" (*dhupuc'* from *ḍa-wa*), M. *ḍuṭu*

[46]) Cf. Kann. *ṭoṅka* "hip and loins", *ḍokke* "body" (Munda loanwords).

[47]) To be separated from *aṅkura-* "hair" (= "sprout"). Hopkins, Epic. Mythol. 24, suggests connexion with Lat. *cirrus*, whereas Pischel, Gramm. 149, derives Magadhi *cihura-* from **cikkhura-* < **cikṣura-* (IE. **qer-*, **sqer-*). Neither theory carries conviction. Cf. also Bloch, BSOS. 5, 741 (Drav. lw.), Scheftelowitz, ZII. 2, 271 (*κίκυννος*).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

"stump of a tree", *ḍeḍgej'* "dwarf", *ḍhaṭa ḍhuṭu* "stumps of trees". — Cf. H. *ḍũḍā* "bullock with one horn", Nep. *ḍũro, ḍũre* "maimed, deformed, having lost a limb", *ḍũrulo* "maimed, armless, stump, wrist", *ḍhoṭe* "simple-minded, shallow-minded", *ḍalle* "dwarfish" (contaminated with *ḍalle* "rounded"), *ḍalli* "a dwarfish woman", etc.

Initial *ṭ* (*t*):

S. *ṭhuṭa* "short, maimed, shortened", *ṭuṭi* "a blunt arrow" (M. *ṭuṭi, ṭoṭe*, id.), *ṭoṭok', ṭoṭbok'* "short, worn", *ṭhuṭkaṇ* "short, to lop off", *ṭeṭka* "lean and small", *ṭhaṭkat' ṭhuṭkut'* "roots and stumps", *ṭhaṭka ṭhuṭkaṇ* "short, stunted", *ṭhuṭkuc'* "bare, short", *ṭeṇḍa* "not quite full-grown", *ṭheṇṭa* "worn small or short", *ṭhuṇṭa* (*ṭuṇṭha*) "maimed in a limb", *ṭhuṇḍgaṇ* "bare, without hair or branches, cropped bare, without horns", *ṭuna* "little, small, stunted", *ṭhuni, ṭona* "to cut into short lengths", *ṭuraṇ* "stunted, crippled, small", *ṭeṛok'* "dwarfish", *toret'* "to be undersized", *ṭhuṛkaṇ* "dwarfish, dwarf"; M. *ṭuṇṭā* "leprous, leprosy", Ho *tuikā* "dwarf" (< **ṭuṛi-kā* or **tuy-kā*), cf. Ho *ṭoṭā* "naked". — Cf. Skr. lex. *ṭuṇṭuka-* "small" (Med., Trik.), Pa. *ṭuṇṭa-* "with mutilated hands", Pkt. *ṭhuṇṭha-*, m.n. "stump", Nep. *ṭhuṭo* "a stump of a tree or maize, polled, hornless, hairless", Hi. *ṭuṇṭā, ṭuṇḍā, ṭhōṭhā, ṭōṭā* "having the hand (arm) amputated", *ṭhūṭhā* "id., having its branches lopped and leafless", *thotar, thotrā* "blunt", *thotā* "id., blunt arrow", *ṭuṇḍ, ṭūḍī, ṭoṇḍī* "a hand or branch that has been cut off, stump of a branch, or arm, etc.", *ṭhūṭhi* "small stump, stalk", *ṭuñj* "very little, very small", Hi. *ṭhūṭ(h)*, Beng. Mar. *thōṭ* "stump", Beng. *ṭunī* "little one, a little girl", Hi. *thoṭā* "small" (the derivation from **stoka-ḍa-* is hardly correct), Nep. *ṭhūṛo* "half-burnt log of wood", *thur* "dry branch" (cf. Pkt. *thuḍa-*, n. "treetrunk"), *thoso* "stubble", etc. Hi. *ṭaṭṭū* "an undersized horse, pony" may be connected with S. *ṭhaṭka ṭhuṭkaṇ* "short, stunted", *ṭhaṭra* "emaciated, lean, only skin and bones". Hence Pkt. *ṭāra-*, m. "a horse of inferior quality" (*adhama-turaṅgaḥ* Deśīn. 4, 2), Skr. lex. *ṭāra-*, m. "horse" (Hemac., Med.), Mar. *ṭār* "mauvais cheval, rosse" probably reflect Proto-Munda variants with *r* < *ṛ* < *ḍ*, cf. S. *ṭarac' ṭuruc'* "very small (animals, children)", *ṭeṛeṛc' ṭipuc'*, id., *ṭiraṇ* "a dwarf, small-sized". When the modern and the Sanskrit forms of a word represent different (dialectal) variants of the same (Proto-) Munda original, the NIA. form often helps us to elucidate the Sanskrit word (see *kubhrá-*). Since the original meaning of Pkt. *thūṇa-*, m. "horse" (*aśvaḥ* Deśīn. 5, 29) is unknown, it cannot be decided whether it is identical with S. *ṭuna* "little, small, stunted", etc.

Initial *r*:

S. *riuṇḍi, reṭhea, reṭhe, reṭhma* "small, under-sized, stunted", etc. — Skr. lex. *raṇḍa-* "mutilated, maimed", *ruṇḍa-*, adj. "mutilated" m. "a cripple, a mere trunk" (e.g. Yaśastil. 1, 595, 4, comm. *kabandha-*), in

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Pkt. also "a severed head" (Jacobi, Ausgew. Erzählungen 7, 33 and 36, cf. J. J. Meyer, Hindu Tales 27, n. 1). Hopkins, Epic Mythology 20, who defines it as "a mangled headless corpse, a late equivalent of the epic *kabandha-*, a torso which dances on the battle-field", seems to connect it with *bhāruṇḍa-*, *bheruṇḍa-* (see also Charpentier, Suparṇasage 357) [48]). For further particulars and the NIA. forms see the ample discussion of this word by Tedesco, JAOS. 65, 94, whose derivation from **vṛddha-* is however unacceptable. Cf. esp. Lhd. *roḍā* "hornless" (: Pj. *roḍā* "shaven"), Kshm. *ronu* "having a deformed arm", Nep. *runu* "tiny, very small", etc. — Skr. *rúru-*, m. "a kind of deer" (since Vāj. S.) is probably to be derived from the same root in view of such parallel instances as Skr. *camūru-*, Nep. *mūṛuli*, Skr. *raṅku-* (p. 141); like Pkt. *rora-* "beggar", it rather belongs to *ḍa-ḍa* "bare".

Initial *l*:

S. *leṭra* "little (child, etc.), small and lean", *luṭa* "deformed, crippled, stunted", *leṭroḳ'*, *leṭveṭ'*, *leṭpiṭiṭa* "emaciated, puny, stunted" (*piṭ-* from *wa-ḍa*, see *baṇḍá-*), *leḍe poṭe* "small", *leda* "too short", *laṇḍha* "stubble of cereals", M. *leṛhā* "lame, defective". — Cf. Hi. *luṇḍā* "tailless, bob-tailed, docked", *laṇḍūrā*, *laṇḍorā*, "id.; stripped of branches and leaves" *lūlā* "lame, crippled, maimed, without hands", *lunj*(*ā*) "without hands (and feet), lame (of hands, feet), crippled", *lāḍā* "short, scant, tail-cropped", *lūḍ mūḍ* "tailless and bald, bare, stripped", Pj. *laṇḍā* "short", Nep. *līṛo* "tailless, having the tail cut off, worthless", *lulo* "maimed, crippled", *luto* "small weakly boy", *lure* "lean fellow", Ass. *lurumā* "stunted in growth", etc. (Nep. *lūṛinu* "to be deprived of leaves", Pj. *luṇḍā* "without leaves, without wife and children", Ass. *laṭhā* "leafless, wifeless", etc. belong to the sub-group with the meaning "bare"). See Tedesco, op. c. 94 f. Cf. Beng. *nulā* "handless" (Chatterji 530), either dissimilated (for **lulā*), or with Proto-Munda nasalization (like *naṛī* "stick" etc., see *daṇḍá-*).

---

[48]) A different word is, in any case, *bheruṇḍa-* "a kind of beast of prey" (Saddharmap.), *bheruṇḍaka-* (Lalitavist., "fox" according to the Tibetan translation), and probably *bhuruṇḍa-* Mhbh. 3, 173, 48 Bomb., which is mentioned together with *śālavṛka-* "hyena". With these words may be connected Pkt. *bheruṇḍa-* "tiger" (*citrakaḥ* Deśīn. 6, 108), and *bhuruṇḍiā-* "jackal" (*śivā*, 6, 101), Pa. *bheraṇḍaka-* "jackal". The original acceptation of these words cannot however be ascertained. S. *ruṇḍa* and M. *ruṇḍā* mean "a wild cat", and the Santali word is used in the forest as a taboo substitute for *kul* "tiger" and *ṭarup'* "leopard" (cf. also the use of S. *raṇḍop' pusi* "pinching cat" for "tiger, leopard" in the forest, when the proper name is avoided). The use of *nari* "jackal" for *puli* "tiger" in Malayalam dialects (see Ramaswami Aiyar, Journ. Andhra Histor. Res. Soc. 10, 62) may be due to a similar cause; cf. also So. *goduā-kid-* "hyena" : *kid-*, *kinā* "tiger". But was the original meaning "cat" or "jackal"? — According to the legendary tradition the birds had two heads (cf. Deśīn. 6, 108 *bhoruḍa-*, m. "a fabulous bird with two heads" Paravastu Venkata Ramanujaswami) which recalls the *ḍuṇḍubha*, which according to later lexicographers is a *nirviṣo dvimukho 'hiḥ*. The question arises whether both names are derived from *ḍuṇḍ-* "defect", but we are unable to decide this question.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Initial *c*, *s*:

S. *choṭe* "small, insignificant", *chõṇḍ* "young", *choṇḍa* "boy", Kw. *cõṛi* "child" (< **coṇḍi* or **coṇḍic'*), etc. — Skr. *kiśorá-*, m. "colt, young animal" (since Ath. S.), with prefix *ki-*, cf. Hi. *chichoṛā* "childish, insignificant" : *chorā* "boy", Nep. *choro* "boy, son" (and Kum. *choro* "orphan boy", Rom. *coro* "poor, orphan", etc., where the second meaning "bare, stripped" predominates): Hi. *chuṭ*, *choṭā*, Nep. *choṭo* "small, short, mean, inferior" (cf. S. *choṭe*!); Pkt. *culla-*, m. "child, servant" (*śiśuḥ*, *dāsaḥ*, Deśīn. 3, 22) and *cola-*, m. "dwarf" (*vāmanaḥ* 3, 18). Besides Skr. *śuṇṭhá-*, cf. Buddh. Skr. *cūḍa-* "small, insignificant" (Mahāvy., Divyāvad.; = Pa. *culla-*, *cūḷa-* "small, minor"), and *cuṇṭati*, *cuṇḍati*, *cuṭṭayati* "*alpībhāve*" (Dhātup.), perhaps also *cuṇati*, *cuṇṭa*(*ya*)*ti*, *cuṇḍayati* "to cut off" [49]). But here, as in the case of *śuṇḍā-* (see below) and *muṇḍa-*, a difficulty arises from the fact that a homonymous root exists in Dravidian, cf. Tam. *cuṇṭu* "littleness, smallness, trifle", *cotti* (*costi*) "lameness, deformity", *coḷḷai* "defect, ruined, emaciated", *tūḷ* "anything small", *tūr* "stump of a tree", *tuṭi* "littleness", *tuṭṭuvam* "little, insignificant thing". Since the Austro-Asiatic descendance of *ḍa-ḍa* cannot well be questioned (cf. the Mon words quoted above) we must assume that the Tamil words are borrowings from Proto-Munda. Cf. Kann. *tuṇḍu* "maimed", etc.

Besides *choṭe*, *choṇḍa*, etc., Santali has a group of words with *e*, cf. *ceḍga* "small, puny, dwarfish, boyish", *cerca* "stumpy, stunted, puny", *ceṭra* "dwarfish, stunted", *ceṇḍa*, *ṭeṇḍa* "young, not quite full-grown" (cf. *lenda* "small, young", and *ceḍea*, *ceḍga*, *ceḍra*, *cẹḍẹ*, etc. "bald on the crown of the head", Ho *cere* "bald") [50]). As a loanword it occurs in Skr. *ceṭa-*, m. (Mṛcch., Sāh. D.), *ceṭaka-*, m. (Bhartṛh., Hitop., etc.) "male servant", *ceṭī-*, f. "female servant" (Rām., S'āk., etc.), lex. *ceḍa-*, *ceḍī-*, etc. Like *ḍiṅgara-*, m. "servant" it presupposes an original meaning "boy", cf. Pa. *ceṭa-* "servant, boy", Pkt. *ceḍa-*, m., *cilla-*, m. "*bālaḥ*" (Deśīn. 3, 10), Mar. *ceḍā* "son", *ceḍ* "young woman", *ceḍrū* "little child" (see Turner s.v. *celo*). As for Hi. Mar. (etc.) *celā* "disciple", Bloch 331 f. separates it from Skr. *ceṭa-* and connects it with Kann. *cillaṛa*, *cillu*, *ciṛu* "smallness", Tam. *cila* "a few"; but according to Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 123, *cil-* is from *kil-*, which excludes in his opinion Bloch's explanation (ibid. n. 1). Hi. *celā* is no doubt connected with Skr. *ceṭa-*. Cf. Hi. *beṭā* (s.v. *baṇḍá-*).

A nasalized derivative from *ḍa-ḍa* "bare, stripped" is S. *nandan* "impoverished, destitute" (either *na-nda* + *n* or *nan* + *dan*). It is possible, therefore, that Pkt. *ṇandaṇa-*, m. "servant" (Deśīn. 4, 19) is a similar derivative from *ḍa-ḍa* "small, child, servant".

§ 15. Skr. *śuṇḍā-*, f. "trunk of an elephant" (since Mhbh.) : *tuṇḍa-*,

---

[49]) But cf. Tam. *tuṇṭi-* "to cut, sever", *tuṇṭam* "piece, fragment".

[50]) M. *ceṇḍā* "a young male or female of 13 or 14 years of age, just before puberty".

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

n. "beak, snout, trunk, mouth, face, point" (since Taitt. Ār., cf. *túṇḍika-* "snouted" Ath. S. 8, 6, 5). Bloch, BSL. 25, 18 f. (= Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian 56) derives *tuṇḍa-* from Dravidian (cf. Tam. *tuṇṭi* "beak", Gondi *toḍī*, *toḍḍī* "mouth, face", Malto *toṛo-* "mouth", which was however questioned by Ramaswami Aiyar on account of the isolated character of these words (and their cognates) in Dravidian (see Congratulatory volume offered to G. H. Ojha, p. 16, n. 2, and p. 17) [51]). Neither *śuṇḍā-*, nor the NIA. equivalents (which point to **ṭhoṇṭa-*, **ṭhoṇḍa-*, **ṭhuḍḍa-*, **toṭṭa-*, etc., see Turner) allow us to decide whether these words are of Dravidian or Proto-Munda origin. Of particular interest is however the NIA. word-group corresponding to Skr. *cañcu-* "beak", cf. Mar. *cōc*, *cũc*, *ṭōc*, Lhd. *cuñj*, Si. *cũji*, *cōṭa*, Beng. *cōṭ*, Guj. *ṭoc* (see Turner s.v. *cuco*). Bloch, Langue marathe 170, held these words to be influenced by those for "lip" (Mar. *ōṭh*, Beng. *ṭhōṭ*, etc.) but they are perfectly clear if we assume an original **ḍuṇḍa* (**ḍaṇḍa*, cf. Guj. *cā̃c*). The varying treatment of *ḍ* in such cases as Beng. *cōṭ*, Guj. *ṭoc* is paralleled by similar irregularities in the development of *d* to *ṛ* and *l* (see s.v. *lorāyati*).

The basic meaning of this word-family is "protruding, projecting", cf. Tam. *cuṇṭu* "lower lip", *coṇṭu* "blubber lip", Skr. *uttuṇḍita-* "prominent", *tuṇḍila-*, *tuṇḍibha-* "having a prominent navel", *tundila-* "pot-bellied", Nep. *ṭuṭi* "spout", etc. Now Munda has a large number of words which point to a root *ḍa-ḍa* with the same sense, cf.:

"protruding": S. *loṭ loṭo* "to swell (lip)", *loc loco* "protruding (underlip)", *soṭ soṭo* "protruding, sticking out", *soṭa* "protruding (teeth)", *siṭkoc'* "having do.", *sui sui* "to pout, to be enceinte" (: *ḍui ḍui*, p. 134!); *cuṭun'* "protruding, standing out (posterior)" is ambiguous on account of *bituc'* "to turn the posterior", *biṇḍuc'* "to thrust out the underlip" (root *ḍa-ya*?). Cf. Nep. *cussa* "pointed, protruding", Kann. *cuñcu* "projecting ledge".

"point": S. *ṭoḍa* "the point of the wooden plough", *tuṇḍi* "the front end of the shafts of a cart" (reborrowing from Aryan?), Kh. *tuigol* "point, to point out"; S. *cui cui* "peaked, spiry, pointed", *cuilạ* "point, pointed, to sharpen" (and many other words as *coela*, *suilạ*, *coega*, *soega*, *coemor*, etc.), Ho *cuṭkāe* "tip, top, peak, point, brim of a vessel" and probably *cuṇḍul* (M. *cuṇḍul*, K. *cundil*) "to point with the finger" (cf. Kh. *tuigol* and Engl. *to point*; are Tam. *cuṭṭu-*, Kann. *suṭṭu-*, Kui *sūṭa* "to point with the finger" Munda loanwords?). — Cf. Skr. *tuṇḍa-* "point" in *ayastuṇḍa-*, *dhūstuṇḍa-* (Bālarām.), and *tuṇḍe* in the comm. on Baudh. KS. 6, 25, rendering *cubuke* "die Spitzen der beiden Havirdhānakarren", Hi. *ṭoṛā* "eaves", Nep. *ṭuṛo* "the point of a plough-share". Skr. *sūcikā-* "elephant's trunk" is ambiguous.

"top": S. *ṭui* (< **ḍuy*) "top, pinnacle", *dhọj* "top (of a tree)", *cọṭ*

[51] Highly improbable are the IE. derivations from *tud-* (Uhlenbeck) or **tṛnda-* (Thieme, ZDMG 93, 137).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

"top, firmament", *condṛo* "peak, highest point", M. *cuṭi* "the point or top of anything" (cf. Ho *cuṭkāe* "top"). Cf. Nep. *culi* "top, summit", etc.

"end": M. *ṭuṇḍu'* (Bhaduri), *ṭundu* (Rakhal Das Haldar) "end, edge", Ho *tuṇḍu* "end" (cf. Tam. *tuṭi*, Kann. Tulu, Tel. *tudi* "end").

"tuft of hair": S. *duci* "tuft of feathers or hair", *dǫcǫt'* "comb of a cock", perhaps *ṭuilą* "lock of hair left on the crown of the head" (cf. *ṭui* "top"; contaminated with *ṭuilą* "to make bare"?); M. *cuṭā* (*cuṭā-ub'*) "tuft of hair on the crown of the head", Bh. *curcutia*, id., Ho *ciṇḍi* "hair-ornament". — Hence Skr. *cūḍā-* "top, tuft of hair on the crown of the head", Pa. *cūḷā-* "crest, cock's comb"; the original meaning is preserved in Skr. *cūḍa-*, *coḍa-*, m. "protuberance on a sacrificial brick" (since S'at. Br., Taitt. S., cf. Skr. *cūlā-* "point", *cūlikā-* "crest, summit, comb of a cock", Pa. *cūḷa-* "protuberance", Ass. *sulā* "projection on a wooden sandal"); Pkt. *chiṇḍa-*, n. "*cūḍā chattraṁ dhūpayantraṁ ca*" (Deśīn. 3, 35, v.l. *chiḍḍa-*, *cheṇḍa-*, etc.), *cheṇḍā-* "*śikhā navamālikā ca*" (ibid. 3, 39), *chillī-* "*śikhā*" (3, 27), *caḍa-*, m., *coṭṭī-*, f. "*śikhā*" (3, 1). The IE. etymologies proposed for *cūḍā-* (e.g. Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. I, 169, Scheftelowitz, ZDMG. 59, 692, cf. Bartholomae, Zum altiran. Wörterb. 125) are obviously incorrect but the Dravidian equivalents (e.g. Tam. *cŭḷi*, *cūṭam*, *cūṭu*, *culḷi*, *cūṭṭu* "crown, crest, comb") present serious difficulties. Kittel and Bloch derived the Skr. word from Dravidian [52]) but the Drav. words may be early borrowings from Proto-Munda (see below).

"hip" (lit. "projecting", cf. S. *ḍuke*, M. *ḍikkā* "hip": S. *ḍǫk ḍǫkǫ* "projecting"): M. *ḍuri*, Ho *ḍuri-jaṅ* "hip-bone", S. *ḍǫṭę*, *ṭǫṭę* "to carry on the hip". — Cf. Pj. *cūlā* "hip-bone", Si. *cūṛi* "hip", Hi. *ḍhuṛ* id., Kann. *soṇṭa*, Tel. *tuṇṭi*, id., Kann. *toḍe* "thigh", etc.

"lip": with *lǫṭ lǫṭǫ* "to swell (lip)", *lǫc lǫcǫ* "protruding (underlip)", *sui sui* "to pout" are connected Ho *loco* "lip, elephant's trunk, pig's snout", M. *lāco*, *lockor* "lip", Kh. *lucur* "lip", S. *luṭi* "lip, mouth, outlet (for letting liquids out)". Cf. the Dravidian words for "lip": Kuvi *luḍa*, Kui *ṭōḍa*, *ṭōṇḍa*, Kann. *tuḍi*, Tam. *tuṭi*, Mal. *cuṇḍu*. Several of these words are not in common use (see Ramaswami Aiyar, op. c. 17, who considers the possibility of derivation from *tuṇḍa-* and *śuṇḍā-*); they are prob. Munda loanwords. Initial *d* appears in Tulu *duḍi*, id., and in Himalayan languages, as Dardic (Torwali *dūt*, Dameli, Bashkarik *dut*, Palola *dhut* "lip") and a Khambu dialect of Tibetan (Chouras'ya *dūli* "mouth", Ling. Surv. III, 1, 345). They must be independent borrowings (unless we should have to assume voicing of initial plosives). T. Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 337, derives Kann. *tuṭi* "lip" from **tur-ti*, which he (like Schrader, BSOS. 8, 756) compares with Finnish *turpa* "snout, muzzle" etc., while he connects Mal. *cuṇḍu* "beak, bill, lips" with Finn. *suu* "os, ostium" etc. But So. *t'ōd-*, *t'ūd-* "mouth, snout" (infixed **támūd-*, surviving in the compositional form *tam-*,

[52]) See particularly Ramaswami Aiyar, op. c. 12 f.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

cl. Kh. *tamod, tomod*, J. *tamar*, Remo, GB. *tummō*, id.) [53]) is an Austro-Asiatic word, cf. Khasi *shin-tur* "mouth", and with nasalized initial: Ulu Indau *nut* "mouth", Semang *tĕ-nut* "mouth, lip, snout of animals", Semang *lă-nud*, Ulu Tembeling *kĕ-nut*, Orang Hutan of northern Johore *s-nut* "mouth". Tam. *nuṉai, nuṉi* (Mal. *nuni*) "point, tip, end" (which Burrow, p. 333, connects with Finn. *nenä* "Nase, Ende, Spitze") may represent a similar nasalized form of this root.

"nose": Nep. *thutunu* "nose, snout".

"buttocks" (cf. Hi. *tīkaṭ(h)* "buttocks, posteriors", Pkt. *dukkha-*, id., S. *ṭiki, ḍeḳe* "buttocks, rump" : *ḍoḳ ḍoḳo* "projecting"): S. *liṇḍhi* "hind-quarters, anus, female parts", *liṇḍ bhiṇḍ* "corpulent, with a big posterior", M. *lāṇḍi* "buttock", etc. Cf. Pkt. *duttha-*, n. "buttocks" (*jaghanam*, Deśīn. 5, 42). Some other words for "female parts" may belong to this group, as S. *ṭoṇe* (< **ḍuṇ-*), *ṭoe* (< **ḍuy* < **ḍuḍ*) "clitoris", Hi. *ṭīṭā, cīcā* "lingula vulvae mulierum", Nep. *tisi* "mons Veneris aut duo labia vulvae" [54]).

"navel, big-bellied" (cf. Pkt. *poṭṭa-*, n., Mar. *poṭ* "belly" : Skr. lex. *poṭika-*, m. "a boil", M. Ho *buṭi* "navel") [55]) : Skr. *tundī-*, f. (lex. *tundi-, tuṇḍi-, tuṇḍikā-*) "navel", *tunda-*, n. "belly" [56]), *tundila-* "big-bellied" (S'āṅkh. GS., etc.), *tuṇḍibha-* "having a protruding navel", etc. Cf. Hi. *ṭuṇḍī* "navel" : *ṭuṇḍā* "knob in the back part of a turban" [57]).

"chin": Hi. *ṭhōṛ(h)ī, ṭhuḍḍ(h)ī*, Beng. *thūt(h)i, thōt(h)ā, thūtni*, Ass. *thutari*, etc. (see Turner, s.vv. *ṭhūṛo*[2] and *thutunu*). Cf. Skr. lex. *joḍa-* "chin" [58]).

If the original meaning of Skr. *cañcu-, cuñcu-, caṇa-* "famous, renowned" was "prominent", they represent the prenasalized and nasalized forms of this root (*ɗa-ɲɖa* and *ɖa-ɲa*).

---

[53]) S. *thuti* "mouth" is perhaps a reborrowing from Aryan; but cf. Pareng *tōt*.

[54]) The connexion of Skr. *cŭta-*, m., *cŭti-*, f. "anus" is doubtful, cf. also Tam. *cūttu* "anus, buttocks, pudendum muliebre", *cūṟu* "anus".

[55]) Otherwise Ramaswami Aiyar, op. c. 18, who derives *poṭ* from Dravidian.

[56]) The IE derivation proposed for this word (**tu-m-do-*, root **teu-*, see Walde-Pokorny I, 708) fails to account for *tuṇḍibha-*.

[57]) Semang (Plus River Valley) *dūt* "navel" is probably related; if so, it corroborates our assumption that the initial consonant was a sonant. Mon *ponglōt* (*pong lāt* Halliday) "navel" may possibly have *l* < *ḍ* (see above, p. 133). If however Semang *lūs*, id. would also belong to the same group, we should have to assume *s* < *ḍ* also in Further Indian languages. Only a detailed examination of the materials could decide this question.

[58]) Cf. Lat. *mentum* "chin" : *ēminēre*, K. *oṭā* "chin, knob, knot" : S. *oṭkoe* "small protuberance", M. *oṭo* "knot", and Skr. *chūbuka-*, n. (ṚS., Śat. Br., etc.), *cubuka-*, (ĀpŚS.), *cibuka-*, n. (Yājñav., Suśr., Var. BS.) "chin" (original sense "point", as may be inferred from *cubuka-* "die Spitze eines Altars", Śulbas., dual "die Spitzen der beiden Haviṛdhāna-Karren", Baudh. KS.). Since *cibi-, cibu-* (Lex.) may be inferential forms (*-ka-* in *cibuka-* being taken as the Aryan formative), we may perhaps compare S. *bukạ* "navel" (cf. Semang *cibak, cubak, cubuk* "hill, mountain", Khmer *buk* "beard", *bak* "Auswuchs" and Semang *săbak* "lips"?). Cf. *cha-maṇḍa-, che-maṇḍa-* (p. 105).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

§ 16. Of the overwhelming number of NIA. instances only a very few seem to have been noticed hitherto. Chatterji 482 f. points to an interchange between palatals, cerebrals and dentals by the side of a (rather problematical) interchange between palatals and gutturals. On p. 506 he tries to account for similar cases by assuming a change $j > d$, whereas Tedesco, Language 19, 15, assumes $j > ḍ$ [59]). Since many instances have been discussed on the preceding pages, only a few additional examples will be quoted.

Nep. *seṛo* : *ṭeṛo*, *ḍeṛo* "squinting" (cf. S. *ṭera*, *ṭeṛha*, *ṭhesra*, which render the connexion with Skr. *ṭagara-* [60]) problematical); Nep. *buco* "mutilated" : *buṭo* "stump", *bhutte* "blunt" (see s.v. *baṇḍá-* "maimed"); Nep. *saṛkanu* : *larkanu* "to slip away" (cf. S. *coṛeṭ'* : *laṛkac' luṛkuc'*, *loṛoṅ coṛoṅ*, *loṇḍoc'*, id.); Nep. *copnu* "to dip, soak" : M. *ḍobe*, *tupu* "to dip" (see s.v. *jambāla-*); Nep. *cūgo* : *ḍhūgro* "bamboo vessel" (cf. S. *coṅga*, *ṭhonga*, p. 135; Chatterji 482 wrongly compares Beng. *khoṅgā*, *khuṅgī*, id.); Nep. *loso*, *lojho* : *lothro* "slack"; Nep. *jhuknu* : *ḍhoknu* "to bow"; prob. Nep. *jhuṭ* : *ḍhāṭ-ḍhūṭ* "lying"; Nep. *cheknu* "to stop, prevent, hinder" : *ṭok*, *rok*, *roktok* "obstacle" (see above, s.v. *jaṅgāla-*); Nep. *jhāknu* "to peep" : Hi. *ḍhũknā* "to look, lurk, peep" (: *johnā* "to look at, behold"), *tāknā* "to look at, gaze on", *ṭakṭakī*, *ṭiktikī* "a fixed look, stare"; Hi. *jhalnā*, *jholnā*, *jhūlnā* "to swing, sway to and fro" : *ḍulānā*, *ḍolā* (see p. 135: Skr. *jholikā-*); Nep. *jhamko*, *jhumko* "cluster, bunch", *jhuppo* "id., tuft" : Beng. *thubā* "bunch", Ass. Beng. *thop*, id., S. *eḍe ṭhompe* "cluster", *ṭhaba ṭhube* "in a cluster" etc. (cf. Kann. *tombe* and Turner s.v. *thupro*); Nep. *sig sigo*, *siga sigo*, *siksiko* "a feeling of uneasiness or reluctance" : *dig mig* "disgust, nausea, shuddering" (cf. Skr. *dhik*?); Hi. *jhakolnā* "to shake", *jhok* "a shove or push" : *dhakelnā* (dial. *ḍhakalnā*) "to shove, push, jostle" (cf. S. *ḍhaka*, id., etc.; perhaps Mon *thaka*, *saka* "to push off" is related); *chab* = *ḍhab* "shape, form figure" (adj. *chabīlā* : *ḍhabīlā*), see p. 68.

Hi. *jā̃gar* "the thigh and the leg, leg" is connected with Hi. *ṭā̃g*, *ṭā̃g* "the leg from the hip to the foot, a share", *ṭāgrī*, *ṭāgṛī* "leg, thigh", Beng. *ṭāṅ*, *ṭheṅ* "leg", *ṭeṅgrī* "leg of meat" (Chatterji, Origin and Developm. 482, 493). Cf. Skr. lex. *ṭaṅka-*, m.n. (Hem. Med. Trik.), *ṭaṅkā-*, f., *ṭaṅga-*, m.n. (Hem. Med.), Pkt. *ṭaṅka-*, n. "*jaṅghā*" (Deśīn. 4, 7). From *ḍa-ka* or *ḍa-ga* "wide apart", e.g., S. *ḍak ḍaka* "wide-spreading", *laṅ laṅ* "with legs wide apart, wide open", *ṭak' ṭak'* "open, wide, extensive", *leṅgeṭ' leṅgeṭ'*, *leleṅgeṭ'*, id., *cag caga* "to part the legs wide", *ciṅgạ cange*, *coṅ coṅ* "with legs wide apart", *caṅ caṅ* "straddling, expanded", *caṅga* "bifurcated, branching off, branch, bough". Cf. on the one hand Hi. *ḍōghī* "branch of a tree", Nep. *coke* "fork made by two pieces of wood", on the other Nep. *ṭukrukka* "in the position of squatting" (: S. *coṅ coṅ* "on one's hams"), Kann. *jaṅge* "a stride".

[59]) Similarly the PTS. Dict. s.v. *ḍāka-* assumes $s < ḍ$ on account of Skr. *śāka-*, cf. Bloch 116.

[60]) Thus Chatterji; see however Turner s.v. *ṭeṛo*.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Hi. *jhagṛā* "wrangling, quarrel" (for the equivalents in other NIA. languages see Turner s.v. *jhagaṛā*) has some interesting variants, cf. dial. *jhagṭā*, id. (cf. Skr. *jhakaṭaka-*, *jhagaṭaka-*, Schmidt, Nachtr.), and *jhak, jhak-jhak, jhik-jhik* "wrangling, altercation, dispute". Similarly Beng. *jhagṛā, jhakṛā* "quarrel" : *bakā-jhakā* "to reprimand, rebuke, speak sharp words", cf. Pkt. *jhakkia-, jhiṅkhia-* (and *ujjhiṅkia-*, comm.), n. "reproach, censure" (*vacanīyam*, Deśīn. 3, 55). See Chatterji 478. The original meaning of *jhagṛā* is accordingly rather "dispute" than "fighting" (as presupposed by Turner's connexion with Mar. *jhagaṭṇē* "to seize violently, collide"). Cf. root *ḍa-ga* : S. *dhuṅgṛau, dhuṅgṛa dhuṅgri* "to rebuke, revile, quarrel", *taṅgrao, ṭaṅgṛau* "to reproach, upbraid, chide", *ṭergeṇ'* "to snap at, chide angrily", *ṭegeċ' ṭagum, ṭegeċ' ṭegeċ'* "to snap at, insult", *regeṇ' ṭegeṇ'* "quarrelling, to quarrel, wrangle", *regeṇ' regeṇ'* "snappishly, to scold", *rego peṭo* "at variance, to chatter, dispute, quarrel", *raga ragi* "quarrel(ling), to quarrel", *ragaṛ jhagaṛ* "a quarrel, to quarrel, wrangle", *raṅga raṇgi* "to have a fierce quarrel", *raṅgao* "to become furious, raged", *lag* "a quarrel, animosity", *ruheṭ'* "to scold, censure, abuse, rebuke", *lage loṛe* "id., to quarrel", *lakaṛ phecaṅ* "quarrels, dissensions", *lakṭha, lokṭha, lekṭha, ḷauą lagṭa, ḷauą lokṭha, lokṭ(h)a* (etc.), id., and, according to Campbell, *jigrą jigri* "to quarrel, wrangle". With prefix *e-* : *eraṅ* in S. *etraṅ* "snappish, irascible, to snub, speak angrily to", M. Ho *erāṅ* "to abuse, chastise, quarrel, scold" (*eperāṅ* "quarrel, dispute, bad terms"), K. *āraṅ* "to abuse" (*āparaṅ* "to quarrel"). Cf. So. *túṅkā-* "to abuse, scold, use indecent words", Hi. *aṛaṅg* "quarrelsome".

Hence Hi. *jhagṛā* and S. *lakṭha, lakaṛ, ragaṛ, jhagaṛ* represent an original **ḍagaḍ*. Dravidian loanwords are, e.g., Kann. *jagaḷa*, Tel. *jagaḍa* "quarrel, fight", Kann. *jaṅke, jaṅkaṇe* "chiding, scolding, crying out", *jaṅkisu-* "to scold, chide". The nasalized root occurs in Nep. *daṅgā* "dispute, quarrel, tumult", Beng. *dāṅgā* "fight, brawl" (to be separated from Pers. *jaṅg* "battle" against Chatterji, op. c. 506). Or. *ṭokibā* "to reprove", Hi. *ṭoknā* "to blame", Si. *ṭokaṇu* "to scold" are ambiguous, see Turner s.v. *ṭoknu* (which is perhaps a contamination of two different words, cf. *ṭokā-ṭok* "quarrelling").

Nep. *jhāpnu* "to cover", which is derived from Skr. *jhampati*, p.p. *jhampita-* "to cover" (Yaśastil.) has the following variants: *chāpnu* "to cover", *chopnu* "to cover, hide, wrap in", *ḍhāpnu* "to cover". Cf. S. *ḍambrao* "to cover, spread over, be clouded", *ḍabao* "to cover, spread over", *jhampa, jhompa* "to cover up, block, implicate" (Hi. *jhāpnā, jhampnā*), *jhapṛe* "to wrap up, cover, put a cloth on", *ṭopar* "covering, to blindfold", *haṛup'* "to cover by putting something over", So. *rub* "to cover, put the lid on", *dab* "to cover, obstruct, put a dam" (*yum* "to cover the body with a cloth, the house with a thatch"?), etc. From the same root are derived Hi. *ṭap* "covering", *ṭop, ṭopā, ṭopī* "hat, cap" (see Turner s.v. *ṭop*), and S.M. *ṭupri*, id. The Further Indian languages have equivalents

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

with initial *t*, e.g. Sakai *tup*, *kātop* "to shut, cover" (Malay *tutup*, *katup* "shut"), Khasi *tep*, Mon *tuip*, Stieng *tap* "to bury" (cf. S.M. *topa* "a grave, to bury, to cover over", Hi. *topnā*, *ṭopnā* "to cover with earth, to bury"); with *r*, e.g. Mon *krop*, *krup* "to cover, conceal", Stieng *grup*, id. (cf. So. *rub*, K. *ka-rūp*, M. Ho *hā-rub*), and with *d*, e.g., Mon *kedop* "to close, shut" (cf. So. *dub* "to shut, cover"); with *s*, *c*, e.g. Khasi *sop* "to cover, to thatch", perhaps Central Sakai *cop'* "to bury" (but see Blagden's Vocabulary, D. 108).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

ADDENDA.

References are to pages and their four parts (a–d).

13c: S. *ḍoṇḍo* "with horns bent well back" indicates a root *ḍa-ḍa*. Hence the *r* may be the Proto-Munda variant of *l*. — 14a *arāṭakī-*: *-akī-*, *-akā-* (for *-ikā-*) seem to occur in substantives only, cf. *viṣāṭakī-*, *viṣāṇakā-* Ath. S., *bhūmipāśakā-* Sāmav. Br. (names of plants), *bhāradvājakī-* "skylark". See F. Edgerton, The *k*-Suffixes in Indo-Iranian, Leipzig 1911, pp. 3 f., 77 (who refers to lex. *mṛga-rāṭikā-*, f. "a certain medicinal plant", perh. a non-prefixed variant of *arāṭa-*; lit. "deer's horn"?), — 18b: Pa. *halāhala-*, n. *kolāhala-*, n. "uproar, tumult". — 21c: *candrikācamatkāra-* "splendeur du clair de lune" Bhāminīvilāsa 2, 92; etc. — 24a: lex. *tuvi-* = *tumbī-*. — 24c: Add. Kh. *ḍimbu* "cucumis", Skr. *lambā-* "gherkin" Suśr. and cf. pp. 66, 84. — 28a: lex. *kajjala-* "cloud" (cf. lex. *mecaka-*, id.), see Wackernagel II, 1, 84. — 30a: Mon *katak* "nape of the neck"? — 31b: Cf. Skr. lex. *parparī-* "braid of hair" Vaijay. (wrongly Scheftelowitz, ZII, 2, 280). Note Skr. *kavalikā-*, Pa. *kabaḷikā-* "bandage" (< "wrapping"?). — 34b: Sakai *awāt* no doubt < **awān*. — 35a: *ga-wa* in S. *gab gab, gaḅruk' gaḅruk'* "ravenously". — 35d: *kāśmala-* Gopālak. 60, 27. — 36a: Prefix *kaś-*? Or *káś-mala-* = S. *kolo molo*? Cf. *kos koso* "sulky, downcast". — 42b: Cf. Burrow, BSOS, 9, 720 (*kubja-* from Drav.). — 44c: Cf. Hi. *ghuṭnā*, Nep. *ghūro*, M. *mukūṭi* "knee" : K. *khūni* "elbow" (*ga-ḍa*). — 47a: Cf. perhaps lex. *kuveṇī-* "*matsyadhānī*" (*matsyakaraṇḍikā ca* Kṣīrasv.), Amara 1, 9, 16; *kupinī-*, Pa. *kumina-*, n. "fish-net". — 48b: *khaṇḍayati* from Drav. according to Burrow, Transactions Philol. Soc. 1945, 98. — 50a: *po-gaṇḍa-* is a rhyme-word of *baṇḍá-*, *ṣaṇḍ(h)a-*, cf. Pkt. *poaṇḍa-* "*ṣaṇḍha ity anye*", Deśīn. 6, 61 and pp. 78, 99. — 51d: Add *khálatya-* Ath. S. — 52a *khalv-āṭa-*, cf. *kharv-ayati* "cuts the hair" (Yaśastil.)? Add lex. *khaṇḍaka-* "*nirnakhaḥ*", Pkt. *gaṇḍa-* "*laghumṛgo nāpitaśca*" (Deśin. 2, 99), Skr. lex. *khalla-* "leather" (Pkt. *khallā-*, Nep. *khālo* "skin"), rhyme-word of *chālā* (root *ḍa-ḍa*, p. 79); S. *kheṇḍkeṭ'*, *kheṇḍea*, *kheṇḍra* = *heṇḍkeṭ'*. Cf. Mon *tha-kāt* "to be leafless", *tam-ṅāt* "shaven, bald". — 55c: *poṭma*, cf. *reṭhma*, p. 150, and perhaps Skr. *kūrmá-*, m. "tortoise" (Ath. S., VS., TS., etc.), cf. S. *hoṛo* M. Ho *horo* (So. *kúlū-*, Kh. *kulu*), id. (~ Malay *kura-kura*, id. ?). — 55d: A different word is *gárgara-*, m. "whirlpool, eddy" Ath. S. (Pa. *gaggaraka-*, id.), cf. S. *gur gur(aṇu)* "to turn round, revolve, whirl", *gurlaṇu* "to whirl, eddy", *ghur ghur* "turning round and round", *ghur ghuraṇu* "to turn do., to stir", *girgiraṇu* "to turn hastily" (Skr. *ghūrṇati* "whirls", Hi. *ghurnī* "whirling, vertigo" ??). No connexion with Lat. *gurges* (Wackernagel II, 1, 9). A third word is Pa. *gaggara-* "roaring", *gaggarāyate* "to whirl, roar, bellow", Skr. *gharghara-* "gurgling", m. "gurgling sound", *gharghariṭa-*, n. "grunting of a hog", *ghurghurāyate*, *ghuraghurāyate*, Pa. *ghurughurāyati* "to snore, etc.", Pkt. *ghurughuraī* "to grunt", Nep. *ghurghur* "snarling", etc.: S. *gaṛ gaṛ* "gurgling, rumbling, to gargle". — 58a: *campana-*, cf. Tel. *camaru-*, *camuru-* "to rub", Skr. *āḍambara-*, n. "anointing (rubbing and kneading) of the body", Harṣac. Read Skr. *capayati*. — 59b: *Nibiḍa-* "*nate nāsikāyāḥ*" Pāṇ. 5, 2, 32 (= *cipiṭa-*, 33), "low" (Kādamb.) is identical with Nep. *nepṭe*. Class. Skr. *nibiḍa-* "thick, dense" is a different word, see p. 148. — 62c: *chaṭā-* "mass, lump, multitude", *saṭā-* "multitude, abundance", lex. *jaṭi-* "multitude" (cf. Pa. *saṭa-*, Hi. *jhūḍ* "heap") ~ Kann. *taṇḍa* "mass, crowd, troop", *daṭṭu* "id., army", *daṇḍu* "army" ~ Nep. *dal*, *jhuṇḍa* "troop, herd" indicate a root *ḍa-ḍa*; identity with *jāla-* not quite certain. As for *jaṭā-* "braid of hair", see Petersson, Studien zu Fortunatovs Regel, pp. 4, 8 (IE. etymologies), Burrow, BSOAS. 12, 135 (together with *śaṭā-* "an ascetic's clotted hair", *saṭā-* "matted locks of hair" from Drav., cf. Tam. *caṭai*, etc.). — 63c: Add M. *jānjid*, Ho *jānjiḍ* "bamboo net", M. *cāṭkā* "a large bamboo basket". — 65c: Add M. *caṅgā* "to bifurcate,

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

keep the legs wide apart", Ho *cucuṅgur* "to sit on haunches". As for *taṇḍā*, cf. p. 34 and M. *candaṅ*, Ho *caṇḍaṅ* "a step or stride", M. *cāṛi* "to stretch out or distend", Hi. *caḍḍhā* "groin". — 66c: *hi-ndolayati*, cf. Kh. *hi-nduṅ* "to stoop" (~ So. *duṅgū-*), S. *hi-ñjiṭ'* "to drain off" ~ *a-ñjeṭ'*, Khasi *kynjit*, etc. Perhaps *hi-* < *ki-*. — 68b: Add Ho *dubui* "rump". — 72b: Kh. *jhamējham ḍā gimtē* "in driblets falls the rain"; cf. *jhimir jhimir ḍā no deltāej, jhīmīr jhīṭā ḍā no gimte* (Khaṛiā Along, nrs 1372, 1163). — 78c: Add M. *totā*, Ho *ṭoṭā* "naked, to take off a dhoti or sāri" — 78d: Add Ho *tondaṅ* "brushwood, low jungle, scrub"; Pa. *thaṇḍila-*, n. "bare ground" (Sanskritized *sthaṇḍila-*) is a variant of *caṇḍila-*, m. "barber". — 79a: So. *usāl* (compos. form *sāl*), Kh. *usāl* "skin", S. *chal* "skin, to skin". — 79c: Pkt. *thuḍa-*, n. "tree-trunk", Kann. *diṇḍu* "stem or trunk of a tree (from the root to the branches)". — 79d: With Beng. *naṛī*, Nep. *chaṛi* "stick", cf. Tam. *taṛi* "chopping off, wooden post, stake, pillar, etc.". — 80a *jhaṇḍā* : cf. Skr. *jharjhara-*, m. "a cane-staff" (Apte), Kann. *jalle* "bamboo pole"? — 81b: Hi. Beng. Or. *neṭā* "lefthanded" < "defective" like Hi. *beṅgā* (p. 88), *ḍāwā* (see Turner s.v. *debre*). — 82a: cf. Prasun *nulū* "reed" <**nada-* (Morgenstierne, Report on a linguistic Mission to North-Western India 66). — 88a: The words for "frog" : Skr. *bheka-*, m. (Maitr. Up.), Hi. *bēg*, Beng. *beṅ*, Nep. *byāṅ, beṅ, bhyāguto, bheguto* are hardly related. Cf. Sakai *tabék?* (similarly Chatterji, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India XXII). — 89c: Pkt. *upphāla-* (Mṛcch. 165, 9, Parab), Skr. *samutphāla-* "galop" (Śabdakalpadruma). The nasalized root occurs in *phaṇ-* "to jump", cf. *Dadhikrā̃... pathā̃m áṅkāṁsy ánv āpánīphaṇat* ṚS. 4, 40, 4, *vyátīṅr áphāṇayat* "made spring the steeds" 8, 69 (58), 13 (impossible Johansson, ZII. 3, 216: "schäumen machen", Caus. of *phaṇ-* "to coagulate, to foam"), *ṛṣyā̃ṅ iva pamphaṇataḥ parvatān prakupitā̃ṅ aramṇāt* Śāṅkh. ŚS. 8, 25, 8, *rurujur bhremire pheṇur bahudhā harirākṣasāḥ* Bhaṭṭik. 14, 28 (*phaṇ-* < **phṛṇ-* Wackernagel I, 192). — 89d: with *l-*, cf. Middle Beng. *phalaṅga*, Beng. *phāl* "jump, leap" (Chatterji 512). Skr. *spandate* "quivers, kicks", from which Hi. *phā̃dnā* is usually derived (Turner s. v. *phā̃dnu*) may be a Sanskritization of Pkt. *phandaï*. — 90a *phaṛphaṛānā* : cf. Skr. *pharpharāyate*, id., *pharapharita-*, n. "twitching of a horse's lip", Pkt. *phuraphurāadi* (*prakampate*, comm. on Mṛcch. 32, 13 ed. Parab). — 90b: Add M. *p(h)idil p(h)idil* "to move the legs and hands briskly", Kh. *puḍ* "to jump". — 91b: *puṇḍra-*, m. (= *puṇḍarīka-*), Hem. Med. — 92b *pīta-*: see Burrow, BSOAS. 11, 345 (from Drav.). — 97c *bheṭī*: cf. S. *bhiṭuaḳ'* "leaf-stalk, petiole". — 98c *ḍhella-*: Pkt. *ḍhilla-* "loose" (Pischel § 150) is not connected, cf. S. *ḍhiloṇ ḍholoṇ* "loose, slack, not tight", *ḍhil(oṇ) ḍhoḳoć* "loose, not firm", *liṛo loṛo, liṛoṇ loṛoṇ* "loose, not firm", *leṛo leso* "loose", *liḍwa laḍve* "to become loose", etc. Pkt. *siḍhila-, saḍhila-*, id. (Skr. *śithila-*, Ved. *śithirá-*), however, scarcely contain Proto-Munda prefixes. Since aphaeresis of *si-* (Mhr. *ḍhilla-* < Mhr. *siḍhila-*, Pischel, Tedesco, JAOS. 67, 88) lacks any support (see also Chatterji 313, 498), *ḍhilla-* must be unrelated. As for Nep. *ḍhilo* "slow, slack" see below (ad 101c). — 98d: Add S. *peṭeć* "only husk without grain", M. *peṭej'* "chaff". — 99a: A third rhyme-word **kusa-* (from *ga-ḍa*, cf. Kh. *kuṇḍā* "husk", *kuṇḍu-sōr* "pounding-stone", M. *guṇḍā* "a pounded substance, crumbs", etc.) possibly occurs in Pkt. *kukkusa-* (*dhānyādituṣaḥ* Deśīn. 2, 36), Pa. *kukkusa-* "the red powder of rice husks" (= *kuṇḍaka-*, id.! Otherwise Geiger § 15: < Skr. *kiknasa-*, m. Ait. Br. 2, 9, 2, comm. "*sūkṣmāḥ piṣṭāvayavāḥ*"), cf. Nep. *po-gaṭā* "ears of rice with no grain inside", p. 50 ~ Tam. *poṭṭu* "empty or blighted ear of corn", Burushaski *pōṭ*, Balti *phut* "chaff, husks" (and Bur. *bʌḷṭa* "bald, scald-headed, hornless"). Other Munda words in Burushaski (partly adopted from Shina) are, e.g., *khūṭ*, (cf. Balti *khut khut*) "short" (cf. p. 112); *ḍuḍūṅ* "stooping" (~ Kh. *hinduṅ*, So. *duṅgū*, id.); *jʌkĕr*, "fork" (< Shina *cʌkĕr*, cf. Nep. *coko*, p. 156); *gʌṭi* "assembled, together" (Shina, id., cf. Ho *guṭi* "crowd", p. 55); *dim* "body, person" (Shina id., cf. p. 68); *dīp* "a wink" (Shina *dīp thōiki* "to wink", cf. p. 133); *joṭo* "small, child, young", *juṭ* "small", *joṭpʌṭ* "small children", *cʌṭ-* (*chʌṭ*) "short, low" (cf. p. 152); perhaps *yai, ye-ič* "to appear, seem" (~ **geć*, cf. So. *g'ē* "to look, seem, appear", *gij* "to appear";

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

cf. Khowar *yeč* "eye"?); etc. See Morgenstierne's Preface to Lorimer's Burushaski Grammar I, XII f. and cf. P. Poucha's theory of a Munda substratum in Yaghnobi. — 99b: Skr. *vaṇṭha-*, m. "servant" Harṣac. — 101c: Add S. *dundha* "fool, blockhead, stupid", *doḷ doḷ* "indolent, lazy, sluggish", *ḍhoṣmoṣ* "careless, negligent, lazy" (echo-word like *loṛo boṭo* "stupid", see n. 143; cf. M. *ḍhoso* "lazy"), *lelha* "foolish, stupid", M. *lālhār* "fool, rash", S. *laṇḍhea, loṇḍhea* "lazy, sluggish, indolent", M. Ho *lāṇḍiā* "lazy" (: S. *laṇḍha* "stubble, utterly poor") ~ S. *loṛo* "stupid". Cf. Kann. *daḍḍa* "blockhead, stupid man", Pa. *datta-, dattu-* "stupid" (: *dandha-* "slow, silly, stupid", buddh. Skr. *dhandha-*, see Andersen, Glossary s.v., Geiger § 38 n. 4, Kern, Toevoegselen I, 50), Ved. *tandrayú-* "lazy", *tandate*, etc., Nep. *ṭuṭo* "stupid", *ṭol(h)o* "an absent-minded person" ~ Nep. *jaire* "fool, idiot", Western Pahari (Cameāḷī) *jalha* "dumb" (cf. S. *lelha*, Nep. *ṭolho*), Hi. *caūḍū* "blockhead, dolt, fool" ~ Hi. *laṭṭhar* "slow, lazy", Nep. *laṇṭha* "fool", *lāṭo* "deaf and dumb, stupid" (cf. Skr. *badhirá-*, Kann. *hoṭṭa*, p. 102), *lote, lojho, loso* „slack" (cf. Burush. *lāša*), Skr. lex. *locaka- "nirbuddhiḥ"* (Hem. Med.), Pa. *lāla-, lāḷa-* "silly" (Skr. *lālaka-* "jester", Kern, Toevoegselen I, 157), Skr. *laṭa-* "fool, blockhead" (Apte). Skr. *jaḍa-* "foolish" < "torpid"? (Lüders, KZ. 42, 194, n. = Phil. Ind. 180 n. 1). — 102d: Mar. *maind* "heavy, slow, stupid" (Bloch 75: "tout à fait obscur") ~ S. *māeṛā* "clean-shaven" (p. 104), M. *mǎeṛā(hā)* "one having little or no moustache". Add Nep. *māṭho* "slow" (= S. *maṭho*, p. 105) and S. *modhu* "sluggish, slow" (= Hi. *modhū*, Tel. *moddu*, Tam. *mottu*, etc.) ~ Nep. *bodho* "blunt, sluggish, torpid", Hi. *bhōdū* "stupid" (see above *caūḍū*), Beng. *bhōdā* "a lumbering fellow, fat and foolish" (Chatterji 516; blended with *ba-ḍa* "fat", p. 145), Nep. *bholo*, Si. *bhoro* "simple" (Skr. lex. *bhela-*, Tel. *bēla*, Pkt. *bhambhala-* "foolish"), Guj. *phāṭḍo* "eunuch, fool". — 104d S. *marca* (cf. M. *marcā*, Kh. *mārcā* "fallow"): the same formative in Ho *darca* "beard" (p. 64). — 105b: Add Pa. *camarī-* "a kind of antelope". — 110d: Add Semang *bit* "to turn", *habit* "twisted", Bahnar *hauēn* "with distorted limbs", *uit* "to roll into a round shape", etc. (see Blagden's Vocabulary T 250, 265, B 175). — 114d: cf. Skr. lex. *naḍaha-*. — 115a *laṇṭ-*: Guj. *lāṭho* "paramour" (wrongly Turner s.v. *laṇṭha*). — 117b: cf. *ullālayati*, Cārud. ("lockend" Morgenstierne, Über das Verhältnis zwischen Cārudatta und Mṛcchakaṭikā, p. 19). But *ullalayitvā* (Pañc. 4, 34, 8 Bühler) means "jumping up", cf. *sam-ul-lal-* "to jump" (Pūrṇabh. 87, 19). — 119c *tarutūlikā-*: cf. Pa. *tuliya-* "flying fox", Kann. *tōḷe* "large bat, flying fox". — 121d: Add Hi. *kirkirā* "gritty, sandy". — 123b: For the prefix *śṛ-* (Proto-Munda *sĕr-/sar-*) cf., e.g., *Sṛbinda-* ṚS.: *Baindá-* (cf. Acta Orient. 17, 307 ff.), lex. *sṛkaṇḍu-*, f. "itch, scrab" : *kaṇḍū-* (*kuḍū-*). — 124d: Prefix *ni-*, cf. Pkt. *ṇijjhara-, ṇijjhūra-* "decrepit" (*jīrṇam* Deśīn. 4, 26), Mar. *nijhūr*, Nep. *nijer* "slender, weak" : Skr. *jarjara-* "decayed, worn out, perforated", *jharjharita-* "exhausted, withered"; cf. S. *jhadga, jhadgoč, jhedge* "torn, worn out, dilapidated", *jhargoć* "in disrepair", *jhadoṛ padoṛ* "torn, dilapidated", etc. (cf. p. 134). Root *ḍa-ḍa*, e.g. Nep. *thotro* "old, worn out". Here may belong Pkt. *jhūsi(y)a- "kṣīṇaḥ, kṣapitaḥ"* (see Pischel § 209). — 126a: Cf. perhaps M. Ho *tusiṅ* "to wear, put on, dress, adorn" (prefix *tu-*). — 127a: Add So. *ámbā* "to low". — 131c: Ramaswami Aiyar only denied the possibility of "fricatisation" of medial *d* (but cf. Winfield, A Grammar of the Kui Language [1928] 6, 223 f.!). In the Journ. of the Dept. of Letters (Calcutta Univ. Press) 19, 1929, 6, n. 1 and in Ind. Ant. 59, 1930, 201, n. 7 he showed the change *t-* > *s-* to have taken place even before back vowels. See also Ind. Hist. Quart. 10, 37 ff. (Tam. *īr*, Gondi *ēr* "water" > Kui *ēsu*, Kuvi *ēju*). Tuttle l.c. (and Am. J. Phil. 50, 1929, 148) explains *t* > *s* by the palatalizing influence of a preceding *i*. — 133: The Austro-Asiatic character of this variation can hardly be questioned, cf. Mon [*thau*] "old", *ye-thão* "old man", Khasi *k-thau* "grandfather" ~ Khasi *yau, kyn-iau* "old", *k-iau* "grandmother", Mon *p-yu* "to be old", *pe-yu* "old age"; Mon *pe-tòm* "night" (Central Nicobar *hatòm*, id.) ~ *yòm, kha-yom* "to be dark", Semang *lem-yom* "evening" (cf. unnasalized **top* in Semang *top*, Sakai *atob* "evening", Central Sakai *tōp* "night" ~ **dup* in Kh. *iḍib* "evening" if < **ĕ-ḍup* ~ **rup* in So. *orub*, K. *siṅ(ā)-rub*, id. ~ **lup* in S. *lupaḳ', lumpaḳ'* "to get dark" [cf. Kenaboi *jĕlúm* "eclipse"] ~ **yup* in Khmer *yup*, Khmus *yopa* "night", Sakai [Kerbu river valley]

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

nayup "sunset", S. [M. Ho] *ayup'* "evening". With a different vowel: S. *kaḍam kaḍam, galam galam* "in the dark, at night" ~ Sakai *klam* "night", Malay *kĕlam* "dark", *malam* "evening, night", *gĕlap* "dark", etc.). In Mon there is a regular interchange of initial *t*(*h*) and *s*. Other instances are: Semang *yoh* ~ *Besisi roh* "bough of a tree", Semang Kedah *hijŏb* ~ *hĕrŏb* "to know"; Old Javanese *cucuk* ~ Batak *tuk tuk*, Bisaya *tok tok* "beak" (Wulff, Über das Verhältnis des Mal.-Polynesischen zum Indo-Chinesischen 56 f.); in Indonesian there is a frequent interchange of *t/s* (e.g.Malay *putar* ~ *pusar* "to turn") and of *d/r* (Old Jav. *ḍaṅ* ~ *raṅ*, cf. also R. A. Kern, Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederl. Indië, vol. 102, 327). — 134a: Cf. Nep. *dhodro, dhotro* "hollow", Ass. *dhond* "hollow of a tree", Guj. *ṭoṭo* "pipe, throat", Skr. *suṣirá-, śuṣira-*, Pkt. *jhusira-* "full of holes" (Pischel § 211); see above p. 130 for Drav. cognates. Cf. S. *ḍhoḍea, ḍhoḍra, dhoḍeọ, dhoḍyọ, ḍhoḍe*(*y*)*ọ* "hollow", *dhoḍrọ, dheḍrẹ* "full of holes, holey", *ḍoḍhọr, ḍoṇḍhọr, dander, doṇḍọr, doṇḍọrpak'* "a hollow, cave, den". A rhyme-word of *dander* is Skr. *kandara-*, m.n. "cave, glen" (Mhbh. Rām.); not composed of *kam* + *dara-* (Pott, Etym. Forsch, I, 1833, 166, Benfey, Pet. D., Wackernagel II, 1, 85, Charpentier, Monde Or. 18, 1924, 13), cf. *kukundara-*, n. Suśr., *kakundara-* Yājñ., lex. *kukundura-*, n. "the cavities of the loins", *koṭara-*, m.n. "hole in a tree", perh. lex. *kukūla-*, n. "a hole, ditch, filled with stakes" ~ S. *kondha* "a cave, hollow", *khondlak'* "a hole in the ground, ditch, full of holes", *khọr-loṅ* "ditch, cavity", *khọyọ* "a hollow in a tree", Ho *kukuru* "a hollow tree", etc. (Cf. Ved. *kāṭá-* "depth, hole"?). As for lex. *kandara-* "*aṅkuśaḥ*", cf. S. *koṇḍẹ* "crooked, bent", etc. — 135b: Erroneous explanations by Wackernagel, II, 1, 9 (*jhiñjhī-* an onomatopoea), Pischel §§ 211, 326 (*jhāruā-, jharua-* from Skr. *śarv-* "*himsāyām*" or *kṣar-*), and Pisani, Geolinguistica e Indeuropeo § 206 (: Lat. *grillus*). Cf. Skr. lex. *śiri-* "locust" ~ Hi. *tīṛī*, id. — 135c: Apte quotes Skr. *cintiḍī-*. — 135d: Cf. Bahnar, Churu *bit*, Jarai *pit* "to close the eyes"? — *ibidem:* Pkt. *thūṇa-* "thief" (hardly from **(s)tūṛṇa-*, Pischel § 129) is no doubt connected with Tam. *toṇṭi*, etc. (p. 130). Mon *klòt* "to steal", *kamlòt, palòt* "thief" suggest an Austro-Asiatic origin of *luṇṭhayati*. If so, the Drav. words must be loanwords. — 136d: *Kirāta-* (lex. *kilāta-* "dwarf") may be a Drav. word on account of Pkt. *cilāda-*; palatalization of *k* is, it seems, unknown in Munda (except for such cases as S *ić* "excrement" ~ Bahnar *ik, ic*, Halang *ek*). Cf. also *alakta-*, m., *lākṣā-*, f. "red lack" < **lakṭa* ~ S. *laḥi* "lac insect", *laḥṭi* (M. *lāhṭi*) "wristlet made of lac"? — 137b: As Professor F. M. Th. Böhl kindly informs me, Accadian *kurkizānu* means "pig". He refers to Br. Meissner, Beiträge zum assyrischen Wörterbuch, II no. 33, p. 39 f. (= Oriental Inst. of the University of Chicago, Assyriol. Studies No. 4, 1932), and to B. Landsberger, Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien (Abh. Sächs. Akad. d. Wiss. XLII/VI, 1934), p. 101. — 139a: Add Skr. lex. *tala-, talaka-*, n. "pond", Mar. *taḷẽ* "tank". — 140b: Cf. So. *jāṅ-lō-* "waste land, village" (< **"clearing")? Shina *ruṅ*, Burushaski *rūṅ* "open jungle with few trees, open grazing ground on hills" may be of Munda origin, cf. Khasi *thuṅ-ruṅ* "naked" and the parallel Nep. *phāṅga-phuṅga* "naked, denuded, esp. land denuded of trees". — 140c: Add K. *dẽṅgrā* "log". — 140d: Add. S. *ḍhokra* "poor, indigent". — 142a: Kh. *cokā* "skin of a fruit" (Tam. *tokku*) ~ Beng. *chol* "rind" (p. 79) and N. *chẽṅgā*, Gondi *śẽṅgā* "husks" ~ *tuṣa-, busa-* (p. 98 f.). Cf. Mon. *thanok, sanok* "skin, shell" from *sòk* "to peel, to skin". — 142b: Cf. Tam. *tavvu* "to leap, spring", *tāvu-* "to jump up, skip", Kann. *avvaḷisu* "to jump" (if < **savvaḷ-*). The Munda evidence (add M. *lāphuā* "a species of bird that hops about") is not sufficient to decide between Munda or Drav. origin. — 143d: Johansson, ZII. 3 (1925), 234 rightly connects *piṇḍa-* with *pāṇṭa-, phāṇṭa-*, etc., but still upholds the IE. origin. Note *piṇḍa-* : *piṇyāka-*, m.n. "oil-cake" = *bhāṇḍa-* : Pa. *bhāṇaka-* "a jar" (see below). Erroneous etymologies of *piṇyāka-*: Lidén, Studien zur altind. und vergl. Wortforschung 87 f., Johansson, op. c. 233. — 144a: *kohaṇḍa-* < **kumhaṇḍa-*? (Pischel § 127). S. *kohṇḍa* "species of pumpkin; scrotum" is perhaps a Pkt. loanword. — 144b: If *kūśmá-* (Vāj. S., Kāṭh. S.), *kūṣmá-* (Maitr. S.) are the older forms of *kūśmāṇḍa-* (Wackernagel I, 225) this explanation cannot be upheld. Their meaning is however not certain. — 144c: K. *barbatti* "pulse" (from Aryan?).

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

— 144d: Hi. *mījū* "lentil"! — 145b: Skr. *poṭalita- "kuḍmalitaḥ"* (Yaśastil.), cf. S. *poṭkoḍ, poṭkoḷ,* Kh. *poṭki* "to germinate, shoot" (S. *poṭra* "big-bellied", Kh. *poṭri* "pregnant", S. *puṭi* "to swell"), So *pēl* "to swell, grow in bulk (seeds)", Tel. *poṭṭakaruku* "a bulging ear of corn, a swelling pod, ready to burst". — 145c: Another word for "belly" is Skr. lex. *phaṇḍa-,* m., *phāṇḍa-,* n. (Ujjvaladatta to Uṇādis. 1, 113), which Lüders, Kuhn's Zeits. 42, 1909, 204 (Phil. Ind. 188) rightly connects with *phaṭa/ā-, phaṇa/ā-, phuṭa/ā-* "expanded hood of a serpent" (Johansson's paper entitled "Die Sanskr.-Wz. *phaṇ-* und *phāṇṭa-*", ZII. 3, 1925, 212—234, is worthless). Cf. 1) with *a*: Sgh. *baḍa* "belly" (Kui *bandi,* Tulu *bañji,* Tam. *vaṇṭi, paṇṭi,* see p. 132) ~ Skr. *bhāṇḍa-,* n. "vessel, pot, box", Pa. *bhāṇaka-* "jar" (cf. *kábandha-,* p. 100!) and perh. *kamaṇḍalu-,* m. "water-pot used by ascetics" (lex. *kamaṭha-,* m., id.; cf. non-prefixed Hi. *meṭā* ~ Beng. *peṭā* "earthen pot, pail"). Ramaswami Aiyar, Ojhā-volume 18, derives *phaṇḍa-* from Dravidian. 2) with *u, o,* e.g. Nep. *bhūṛi* "belly" ~ *bhuṛko* "an earthen jar" (cf. Tel. *bojja* = *poṭṭa,* Kann. *bojje* "belly" ~ Tel. *boṇḍu* "round, globular", Kann. *boṭṭu* "a round thing", *buḍḍi, buḍḍu* "roundness", etc.). Cf. the words for "navel" (Tel. *boḍḍu,* Kann. *buḍḍe* = M. Ho *buṭi,* So. *pūḍī-*) and "teat" (Pkt. *boṇḍa-, boṇṭaṇa-,* n., Mar. *bōḍ,* Beng. *bāṭ, bōṭā*). A difficult word is Pa. *bondi-* "body", Pkt. *bondī-* "form, face, body", which cannot be kept apart from Tam. *ponti,* Tel. Kann. *bondi* "body" (cf. Tam. *pontai, putai, poti, puri,* id., *pottai* "anything bulky, body"). While K. Amrita Row, Ind. Ant. 46, 35, and P. V. Ramanujaswami, Deśīnāmamālā II, 65, derive the Pkt. word from Dravidian, Lüders, Phil. Ind. 567 f., points to the Skr. equivalent *vṛndi-* in the Mahāvastu. If this is really identical with *vṛnda-,* n. "multitude, host" (which was known in the Vedic period, see Lüders 568), it is unlikely to be a Sanskritization of *bondi-* and must rather represent Pr. M. **w-ĕr-nda* (infix *-ĕr-,* cf. *truṭ-, vruḍ-,* perhaps *saraṇḍa-* = *sāṇḍa-* "lizard", *śṛṅgāra-,* p. 126), cf. lex. *varaṇḍa-,* m. "multitude, pimple, heap of grass" (Mṛcch. 7, 4, cf. Morgenstierne, op. c. 28), *varaṇḍaka-,* m. "mound of earth; round, capacious". — With *phaṇḍa-* Lüders also connects *phaṇá-,* m. "scum, froth" (Taitt. Br.) and *phála-,* n. "fruit". But *phaṇá-* (buddh. Skr. *phāṇi-* "molasses"), which cannot be separated from *maṇḍa-* "foam, froth, scum, cream", Nep. *phīj,* Mar. *phēs,* Kafiri (Ashkun dial.) *pi͡ēṛe,* id., may belong to a different word-group (cf. S. *phēṛ, phoṭo* "foam, froth"). Skr. *phéna-* (since ṚS., late Skr. *pheṇa-,* Wackernagel I, 194, Pa. Pkt. *pheṇa-*) is ambiguous, cf. Old Church Slav. *pěny,* Lith. *spáinė,* Osset. *fing* (Wackernagel I, 120). — 147a: Skr. *pela-,* m. "testicle" ~ *phala-,* n., id. (Epics, Suśr., see Lüders, Phil. Ind. 189) ~ Nep. *phul,* id. ~ Tulu *biṭṭu,* Tam. *piṭukku,* id., S. *piṭiri* "swelling of the glands as in mumps", So. *pēl* "to swell, grow in bulk (seeds)", etc. The last word suggests identity of *phala-* with *phála-,* n. "fruit" (since ṚS.), see also above (ad 145b). Dravidian origin (Gundert, ZDMG. 23, 519, Caldwell, Comp. Gramm., 2nd ed. 484, A. Master, BSOAS. 11, 301) was questioned by Kittel, Kann.-Engl. Dict., Preface XXIV, Bloch, BSL. 25, 17, BSOS. 5, 740. For the literature on this word see Johansson, ZII. 3, 232, Kuiper, Acta Orient. 16, 305, n. 2. — 149a: Pkt. *rokkaṇī* "horned", cf. M. *ruṅkā* "pointing straight forward (of horns of animals)". — 150b: Skr. *ṭoṭa-* "small, little" (Apte)?. — 151b: With *leṭra* (*ceṭra*), *lenda* (*ceṇḍa, teṇḍa*) "small, young", *lenda tuṛiā* "small, the youngest one, poor, destitute", etc. cf. Ho Kw. *lāič* (< **lān-ić,* cf. KwErnga *lāñī*), N. *lānā,* J. *landa* "child" and, no doubt, Hi. *laūḍā* "boy" (see p. 78 on Nep. *ḍaūṭhe*), *laṛkā* "boy, son" (Beng. *leṛkā,* etc. : S. *leṛke* "youngster, lad, child"), to be separated from Panj. *laḍikkā* "spoiled child" (Turner s.v. *laṛko*), see p. 115. — 152c: Nep. *cilkaṭ, cirkaṭ* "small children" is an identity-compound (Pkt. *cilla-* and cf. K. *gaṇḍā* "boy", pp. 50, 99), cf. *cilli,* f. "having children". — 152d: Hi. *nanhā* "small"? (cf. Turner s.vv. *nānī* "baby", *sānu* "small"). — 153c: Nep. *cose* "with protruding lips", *coso* "point, edge, corner"; Kann. *toṭṭu* "point, nipple". — 155a: Tam. *muṉai* "point, sharpened end, cape" < *nuṇai*? — 155b: Kh. *surṛu* "navel". — 156a: Add Beames, Compar. Gramm. of the Mod. Aryan Languages of India I (1872) 210 ff. (palatals > dentals or cerebrals). — 156b: Nep. *ḍhoknu* "to bow" ~ So. *duṅgū,* Kh. *hinduṅ* "to stoop" (Javanese *ḍoko, ḍěku,* Malay *tunduk,* id.). — 156d: Hi. *ḍag,* Nep. *ḍeg, ḍek* "pace, step".

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

INDEX [1]).

SANSKRIT.

aṅkura- 149 n.
aṅgada- 124.
aṅganā- 18, 127 n.
ajjhala- 29 n., 47, 127 n.
aṇḍa- 76.
atikūlva- 51.
apoganḍa- 50.
abaṇḍa- 95.
arāṭakī- 13 f., 159.
arāḍa- 13.
arāḍītara- 13.
arāḍya- 13.
arāla- 13 f.
argaḍa- 14 f.
arbuda- 15, 146.
arvudha- 146.
alambuṣa- 59 n.
alakta- 162
alābu- 24, 127 n.
avaṇḍa- 95.
avandhya- 96.
ahituṇḍika- 54 n.
ākula- 16, 18, 73 n.
āṭopa- 18 f., 23.
āḍambara- (pomp) 19 ff., 74; (noise) 19 ff.; (mass) 21; (rubbing) 20, 159; (drum) 21 n., 85 f.
āndolayati 18, 66.
āpanīphaṇat 160.
āpīḍa- 22 f., 32, 112.
āpīḍita- 22 n.
āvila- 47, 127.
āsphālayati (tears) 60 n.; (strikes) 60 n.
indūra- 27.
uṅkuṇa- 41.
ujjhaṭita- 63.
uḍumbara- see *udumbara-*
utkuṇa- 41.
uttuṇḍita- 153.
utphāla- 89.
udumbara- 13, 18, 23 ff., 77 n., 86.
udumbala- 25 f., 144.
undara-, -ura- etc. 27, 119.
urubja- 42.
ulumbala- 26.
ulbaṇa- (big) 147.
ullamphana- 142.
Audumbara- 25.
kakanda- 30.
kakāṭikā- 29.
kakundara- 162.
kaṅkaṇa- 123.
kaccara- 39.
kajjala- 28 f., 47; (cloud) 159.
kaṭa- (multitude) 55.
kaṭa(ka)- (mat) 47.
kaṭaka- (army) 55; (bracelet) 47, 123 f.
kaṭapra- 55 n.
kaṭinī- 55.
kaṭyā- 55.
kaṭhina- 36.
kaḍa- 52, 102.
kaḍebara- 68.
kaḍyā- 55.
kaṇa- 49.
kaṇabha- 41 f.
kaṇṭha- 29 f.
kaṇḍana- 49.
kaṇḍī-kṛ- 49.
kaṇḍū- 161.
kaṇva- 52, 102.
kaṅaka- 30.
kanaknaka- 31.
kanda- 51.
kandara- (cave) 162; (hook) 162.
kandarpa- 19 n.
kandala- 30.
kanduka- 51.
kandhara- 29.
kapaṭī- (two handfuls) 35.
kapaḍa- 34.
kapāṭa- 130.
kapāla- 44.
kapola-, -ī- 44 f.
kaphaṇi- 44.
kaphoḍa- 44.
kaphoṇi- 44.
kabaḍa- 34.
kabandha- (belly) 100, 163; (trunk) 100 f.
kabarī- 31 f.

---

1) The space allotted did not allow me to insert the NIA. words.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

kamaṭha- (bamboo) 33 f.; (water-pot) 163.
kamaṇḍalu- 163.
kambi- 33.
kara(ka)- (hail stone) 121.
karaka- (water-pot) 56.
karkaṭī- (id.) 56.
kaṛkara- (mirror) 109; (stone) 121.
karkarī- 55 f.
karkoṭa- 121.
karda(ṭa)- 62.
kardama- 62.
karphara- 109.
karbu(ra)- 27.
karmarī- (bamboo) 33.
karmāra- (id.) 33.
kala- (dumb) 52, 102.
kalaśa- 56.
kalaha- 17 f., 39, 88, 99 n., 114.
kalā- 49.
kalāṅgala- 127.
kalikāra- 45.
kaliṅga (*K.*) 45.
kaliñja- 63.
kalila- 16, 18.
kaluṣa- 131.
kalevara- 68.
kalmaṣa- 36, 38.
kalmāṣa- 38.
kalya- (deaf) 52.
kalla- (id.) 52.
kavaḍa- 34.
kavandha- (trunk) 100 f.
kavay- 130.
kavala- 34 f.
kavalikā- 159.
kavaṣ- 130.
kavāṭa- 130.
kaśipu- 59 n.
kaśmala- 35 ff., 39, 108, 159.
kaśmaśa- 39.
kāñcana- 30.
kāṭa- 162.
kāṇa- 52, 102.
kāṇḍa- (internode) 50 f.; (multitude) 50, 55; (stalk) 50 f.
kāla- (black) 28 f., 68.
kālīka- 45.
kālvālīkṛta- 51.
kāvandha- 100.
kāśū- 39.
kāśmala- 159.
kāsāra- 139.
kāsū- 39.
kikhi- 52.
kiṭibha- 41.
kiṇa- 41.
kirāta- 136, 162.
kilañja- 63.
kilāta- 162.
kiliñja- 63.
kilbiṣa- 38.
kiśora- 50, 152.
kukundara- 162.
kukūla- 162.
kuḍū- 161.
kuṇa- 41.
kuṇaka- 50.
kuṇāru- 53.
kuṇi- (lame) 53 f.
kuṇin- 41.
kuṇṭati 53.
kuṇṭha- (blunt) 40 ff., 49 f., 53, 140.
kuṇṭhati (limps) 53.
kuṇḍa- (jar) 76; (lame) 52.
kuṇḍati (limps) 53.
Kunti- 121.
kundu- 159.
kupinī- 159.
kupinda- 46.
kuphaṇī- 44.
kubja- 42 ff., 159.
kubhra- 42 ff., 77 n.
kumbhāṇḍa- 144.
kuraṇḍa- 76 n.
kurumba- 66, 84.
kula(ka)- 55.
kulāla- 139.
kuliṅkaka- 45.
kuliṅga(ka)- 45.
kulīkā- 45.
kulmi- 55.
kūlva- 51.
kuvinda- 46.
kuveṇī- 159.
kuśimbi- 67 n.
kuṣmāṇḍa- (gourd) 144.
kūṣmāṇḍa- (demon) 144.
kūṭa- (hammer) 40; (not horned) 40 f., 75.
kūbara-, -ī- 43 ff.
kūrpara- 44 f.
kūrma- 159.
kūśma- 162.
kūśmāṇḍa- 144, 162.
kṛka- (larynx) 29.
kṛkāṭa- 29 f.
kedāra- 139 n.
kokila- (coal) 28, 47.
koṭara- 162.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

koṇakuṇa- 41.
koṇi- 54.
kodaṇḍa- 78.
kolakuṇa- 41.
kolambaka- 26.
kolāhala- 18.
kolika- (weaver) 47.
kaulika- (id.) 47.
khaṭa- (dwarfish) 50.
khaṭṭara-, -ura- 50.
khaḍa- (splitting) 48.
khaḍ(at)ū- (ornament) 123.
khaḍara- 50.
khaḍukā- 123.
khaḍūra- (dwarf) 50.
khaḍga- (sword) 47 ff.; (rhinoceros) 136 ff.
khaḍḍukā- 123.
khaṇḍa- (multitude) 55; (stalk) 51; (half-grown) 52; (crippled) 50; (sugar-candy) 51.
khaṇḍa(ka)- (piece) 48, 76.
khaṇḍaka- (without nails) 159.
khaṇḍayati 48, 159.
khaṇḍila- 48.
khaṇḍī-kṛ- 49.
kharva- 50, 124 n.
kharva(ya)ti 48, 50, 159.
khalati- 51 f.
khalla- (leather) 159.
khallaka- (bald) 51.
khallīṭa- (id.) 51.
khalvāṭa- 51 f., 159.
khāṇḍava- 51.
khādi- 123.
khālatya- 159.
khikhi- 52.
khiṅkira- 52.
khuḍḍāka- 50, 114.
khuṇḍate (limps) 53.
khuṇḍayati 48.
khurati 48.
khṛgala- 49 f.
khoṭa-, -ti 52.
khoḍa-, -ti 52 f.
khoḍayati 48.
khora(ka)- 52 ff.
khorati 53.
khola-, -ti 53.
gaḍ- (āvaraṇe) 124.
gaja- 138.
gaḍa- 14, 124.
gaḍu- (hump) 51.
gaḍḍuka- (pot) 56.
gaṇa- 54.
gaṇotsāha- 99 n., 138.
gaṇḍa- (boil) 51, 137; (cheek) 76; (piece) 48; (trunk) 49.
gaṇḍa(ka)- (rhinoceros) 137 f.
gaṇḍaka- (having joints) 50; (obstacle) 14, 124.
gaṇḍi- (trunk) 78.
gaṇḍikā- (piece) 48.
gaṇḍu- (pillow) 51.
gargarā- (jar) 55.
gargara- (eddy) 159.
gargarī- 55.
garmut- 146.
gala- (snare) 124.
galla- 76.
gavīnī- 130.
gulaka- 55.
gulińka- 45.
gulma- 55.
goḍimba- 24, 66, 84.
goḍumba- 24, 66, 84.
goraṅku- 141.
ghaṭa- 55.
ghaṭayati 54.
ghaṭā- (multitude) 54 f.
ghaṭṭayati (stirs) 56.
ghaṭṭayati (*saṁ-*) 54.
ghaṇṭa- (sauce) 56.
ghaṇṭika- (alligator) 138 n.
gharghara- (gurgling) 159.
gharghūrghā- 41.
ghāṭā- (neck) 29 f.
ghuṇa- (wood-worm) 41.
ghur(a)ghurāyate 159.
ghurghura- 41.
ghurghurghā- 41.
ghūrṇati 159.
caṅga- 126.
cañcala- (lover) 115.
cañcalī- (cricket) 135.
cañcu- 153, 155.
caṭu(la)- 115.
caṇa- 155.
caṇḍa- (circumcised) 80; (fierce) 136; (tamarind) 135.
caṇḍila- 78, 107, 160.
catura- 115.
capayati 57, 159.
capeṭā- 22, 59 f.
camatkāra- 21 f., 159.
camūru- 105, 151.
campana- (leap) 142; (*saṁmardaḥ*) 57 f., 159.
campita- 57.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

carpaṭa- 19 n., 57 f
carbhaṭa- 144.
cārvan- 59.
cāṭa- 56.
cāṭu- 115.
cātura- 56.
cāpiṭa- 58.
cikura- 149.
ciñcā-, -iṇī- 135.
cintiḍī- 162.
cipaṭa-, -uṭa- 57.
cipiṭa- 56 ff., 135, 159.
cipyamāna- 58.
cibi- 155 n.
cibuka- 155 n.
cirbhaṭī- 144.
cirbhiṭā- 144.
cillī- 135.
civiṭa- 57.
cihura- 149.
cīrī- 135.
cīl(l)ikā- 135.
cuñcu- 155.
cuñcurī- 135.
cuṭṭayati 152.
cuṇati 152.
cuṇṭa(ya)ti 152.
cuṇṭī- (a well) 131.
cuṇḍa(ya)ti 152.
cuṇḍya- (a well) 131.
cŭta- (anus) 155 n.
cubuka- 155 n.
cūḍa- (small) 152; (protuberance) 154.
cūḍaka- (a well) 131.
cūḍā- (top) 149, 154; (a well) 131.
cūtaka- (id.) 131.
cūrī- (id.) 131.
cūlā- 154.
ceṭa(ka)- 99, 152.
ceḍa- 152.
coḍa- (protuberance) 154.
cora- 135 f., (130, 162).
chaṭā- 62, 159.
chamaṇḍa- 100, 105, 155 n.
chala- 56.
challi- 79.
chubuka- 155 n.
chemaṇḍa- 105, 155 n.
choṭayati 81.
jagala- 141 n.
jaṅgala- 140.
jaṅgāla- 139 f.
jaṭ- (entangled) 63.
jaṭā- (braid) 62, 64, 159; (root) 64.
jaṭi- (plait) 63; (multitude) 63, 159.
jaḍa- 101 n., 136, 161.
jatukā- (bat) 28.
jatunī- (id.) 28.
jatū- (id.) 28, 119.
jambāla- 60 f., 72.
jambīra- (citron) 84.
jambu- 84.
jambha-, -ara-, -īra- 84.
jarjara- 161.
jala- 138 f.
jāṅgala- 140.
jāmba- 61.
jāra- 115.
jāla- 62.
juṭati 131.
juṭikā- 63.
juḍati 131.
jūṭa- 62 n., 63.
joḍa- (chin) 155.
jhakaṭaka- 157.
jhagaṭaka- 157.
jhaṭ- (entangled) 63.
jhaṭi- (tree) 65.
jhampa- (jump) 57, 142.
jhampati (covers) 157; (leaps) 142.
jhampā- (blow) 60.
jhampāka- 142.
jharjhara- (staff) 160.
jharjharita- 161.
jhăḷā- (cricket) 135.
jhallarī- 139.
jhallīkā- (cricket) 135.
jhaṣa- (forest) 78.
jhāṭa- 63, 78.
jhijjī- (cricket) 135.
jhiñjhī- (id.) 135, 162.
jhirī- 135.
jhillarī- 135.
jhilli(kā)- 135.
jhuṇṭa- 63.
jhumbarī- 136.
jholikā- 135, 156.
ṭagara- 134, 156.
ṭaṅka- (peak) 149.
ṭaṅkă- (leg) 156.
ṭaṅga- (id.) 156.
ṭal- 62.
ṭāṅkara- 126.
ṭāra- (horse) 150.
ṭuṇṭuka- 150.
ṭoṭa- 163.
ṭhāra- (frost) 136.
ḍamati (sounds) 86.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

ḍamara- (tumult) 22, 74.
ḍamaru- (amazement) 21.
ḍamaru-, -rin- 86.
ḍampayate 60.
ḍambara- (drum) 86; (noise 20 f.; (pomp) 20 ff.; (mass) 21.
ḍayana- 135.
ḍallaka- 135.
ḍākinī- 136.
ḍāmara- 21.
ḍāla- 64 f.
ḍāhala- 128 n.
ḍiṅgara- 141.
ḍiṇḍibha- 69.
ḍiṇḍimā- 85 f.
ḍimba- (humming-top) 86; (tumult) 22.
ḍimb(h)a- (child) 67; (egg) 18, 24, 65 ff., 84; (body) 68.
ḍimbayate 60.
ḍimbima- 86.
ḍuḍubha-, -ma- 69.
ḍuṇḍu- 69.
ḍuṇḍubha- 68 ff., 151 n.
ḍulī- (turtle) 124 n.
ḍoṇḍā- 31, 131.
Domba- 87.
ḍora(ka)- 131.
ḍorikā- (musk-rat) 27.
ḍolā- 135.
taḍāga- 139.
taṇḍaka- 76.
taṇḍula- 59, 79.
tandate 161.
tandrayu- 161.
tarutūlikā- (vampire) 119, 161.
tartar- 67.
tala(ka)- 162.
talla- (pond) 139.
tāmbūla- 70.
titīla- (bat) 119.
tintiḍa-, -ī- 135.
tintilī(kā)- 135.
timita- 71 f.
timyati 71.
tīmyati 71.
tuṅga- 149.
tuṇḍa- 152 ff.
tuṇḍi(kā)- (navel) 155.
tuṇḍibha- 153, 155.
tuṇḍila- 26, 153.
tuṇḍela- 26.
tunda- (belly) 155.
tundi- (navel) 155.
tumala- 73.
tumula- 22, 72 ff.
tumba- 24, 75 n., 136, 143 f.
tumbi- 24.
tumbukin- (drum) 85.
tuvara- (astringent) 130.
tuvaraka- 67 n.
tuvi- 159.
tuṣa- 79, 99, 162.
tuṣāra- 136.
tūpara- 41, 74 f., 136.
tūbara- (*-v-*) 74 f.
tepati 71.
tema(na)- 71.
taimāta- 71.
toya- 138.
truṭ- 163.
tryaṅgaṭa- 15.
daṇḍa- 75 ff., 149.
dambha- 19.
darpa- 19 n.
dala- 64, 76.
davara- 31, 131.
dāḍim(b)a- 18, 83 f.
dāḍhikā- 63 f.
dālima- 83.
duḍī- 124 n.
duṇḍubha- 69.
dundama- 85.
dundu- (drum) 85.
dundubha- 68 f.
dundubhi- (snake) 69; (drum) 84 ff.
dundumāyita- 85 f.
dulī- 124 n.
dūlāsa- 79.
dora(ka)- 131.
dolāyate 66.
dolikā- 135.
dhandha- 161.
dhik 156.
naḍa- 64 n., 81 ff.
naḍaha- 161.
nada- 82.
nala(da)- 82.
nāḍī- 82.
nāraṅga- 126.
nārāca- 81 f., 83 n., 98, 105.
nāla- 82.
nikurumba- 124 n.
nikharva- 50, 124 n.
nigaḍa- 15, 124.
nicumpuṇa- 124 n.
nipuṇa- 124 n.
nibiḍa- (low) 159; (dense) 124 n., 148, 159.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

nimba- 84 n.
nimbū(ka)- 84.
nirgaḍa- 14, 124.
nīra- 138.
paṅgu- 87 f.
pañjalā- 148.
paṭala-, -ī- 148.
paṭaha- 88, 114.
pāṇava- 88.
paṇḍa-, -u- 96 f.
paṇḍāya- 96.
paṇḍra- 74, 96.
pataṁga- (bird) 89; (grasshopper) 89.
pamphaṇant- 160.
parparī- 159.
parphar(īkā)- 67.
palāva- (fishing hook) 95.
pallavita- (reddened) 93.
pāṭa- (expanse) 147.
pāṭala- 93.
pāṇṭa- 162.
pāṇḍu- 76, 91; *P.* 97 n.
piccha- (tail) 132 n.
picchā- (calf of leg) 142 ff.
piṭaka- (basket) 145; (boil) 142, 143 n.
piṭaṅkākī- 144.
piḍakā- 142.
piṇḍa- 76, 142 ff., 147, 162.
piṇḍī- (gourd) 143 f.
piṇḍīra- (pomegranate) 84.
piṇyāka- 162.
pitta- 92.
pīta- 92, 160.
pīlumant- 71.
puṅkha- 90.
puñja- 147 f.
puṭa- 145, 148.
puṇḍarīka- 91.
puṇḍarya- 91.
puṇḍ(r)a- (mark) 92.
puṇḍra- (lotus) 160.
puta- (buttock) 8, 77 n., 100, 147.
puppuṭa- 146 n.
pupphusa- 146 n.
pulāka- 143.
pūla- 111.
peṭa- (basket) 145.
peṭa(ka)- (crowd) 148.
peṭālu- 144.
pela- 147, 163.
pelava- 78, 92.
poganda- 50, 78, 159.
poṭaka- 100.
poṭala- 111.
poṭalita- 163.
poṭā- 99 f.
poṭika- (boil) 143, 146, 155.
poṭa(ka)- (young) 8, 77 n., 99 f., 147 n.
potagala- 112.
pola- (mass) 148.
pralamphana- 142.
phakka- (cripple) 88.
phaṭā- (hood) 148, 163.
phaḍiṅgā- 89.
phaṇ- (to jump) 160, 162 f.
phaṇa- (hood) 148, 163; (scum) 163.
phaṇḍa- (belly) 163.
pharapharita- 160.
pharpharāyate 160.
phal- (leap) 89.
phala- 163.
phalgu- (weak) 100 f.
phalgu(na)- (reddish) 93.
phalgva- 52, 100.
phāṇayati 160.
phāṇi- 163.
phāṇṭa- 162, 163.
phāṇḍa- 163.
phāla- (jump) 89.
phuṭā- (hood) 163.
phu(p)phusa- 146 n.
phena- (*-ṇ-*) 163.
bakura- 92, 93 f.
baṭu- 99.
baḍiśa- 94 f., 110.
baṇḍa- 95 ff.
badhira- 52, 96 n., 102, 161.
barkara- (deaf) 52.
barbaṭa- 144.
barbaṭī- (pea) 67, 144; (whore) 114.
barbara- (curly) 31.
barbura- (water) 107.
balkasa- 36 n.
bākura- 93 f.
bāḍiśa- 94.
bāṇa- 34.
bādara- (water) 107.
bāla- 95 n.
bāliśa- 56, 95.
biṭaka- (boil) 143.
biliśa- 94.
buḍabuḍa- 107.
budbuda- 107.
bunda- (arrow) 98.
bubura- (water) 107.
busa- (*-ś-, -ṣ-*) 98 f., 102, 162.
bhūṭa- 97.
būṭakarṇa- 97, 149.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

bṛgala- 49.
bekurā-, -i- 94.
Bainda- 46 f., 161.
bhaṅga- (lameness) 88.
bhaṅgura- 88.
bhaṭ- (*paribhāṣaṇe*) 33.
bhaṭā- (colocynth) 144.
bhaṇati 32.
bhaṇḍate 33.
bhadrā-kṛ- 96.
bhanati 32.
bharbharā-bhū- 74.
bhākuri- 94.
bhāṇḍa- 162, 163.
bhāṇḍila- 107.
bhāruṇḍa- 151.
bhāṣate 32.
bhuruṇḍa- 151 n.
bhuliṅga- 46.
bhūka- 91, 120 n.
bhūliṅgaśakuna- 46.
bhṛkuṁśa- 108.
bhṛkuṭi- 108.
bhṛṅgāra- 56.
bhṛmala 107 ff.
bheka- 160.
bhekuri- 94.
bheḍa- 23, 109 f.
bheruṇḍa- 151.
bhela- (foolish) 161.
bhaiṇḍaka- 109 n.
bhrakuṁśa- 108.
bhrakuṭi- 108.
makura- (mirror) 109.
maṅku- 88.
maṅkura- 109.
mañjīra- 111 n.
maṭaha- 99 n., 101, 114.
maṭṭa- (drum) 88.
maḍūṣikā- 100.
maḍḍu(ka)- 88.
maṇḍ- (to wrap) 111.
maṇḍa- (scum) 163.
maṇḍacara- (noose) 111.
maṇḍala- 143.
matka- (bug) 41.
matkuṇa- (bug) 41 f.; (beardless) 40 f., 52, 101.
matkuṇā- 40, 52, 101.
madrā-kṛ- 96, 101.
manthara- 102.
manda- 102, 138, (161).
Mandākinī- 120.
markaṭa(ka)- (spider) 47.
mala-, -ina- 36 f.
malīmasa- 36, 39.
mālva- 52, 92, 104, 131.
masī- (*-ṣ-*) 36, 38.
masūra- 67, 144.
māṣa- (foolish) 104, 131; (bean) 67, 144, 146.
miṣati (*ni-*) 135, (148).
mīlati 135, 148.
mukura- 109.
muṇḍa- 102 f.
muṇḍaka- 77, 102.
muṇḍayati 103.
muṇḍin- 41, 75, 102.
mudga- (bean) 146; (covering) 146 n.
mudgara- 146 n.
mulālī- 83.
musala- (*-ś-, -ṣ-*) 146 n.
mūta(ka)- 111.
mṛgarāṭikā- 159.
mṛṇāla- 83.
mekhalā- 92, 122 ff.
mecaka- 68, 123 n.
meṭha- (ram) 109.
meṇḍa- (ram) 109 f.
meṇḍha(ka)- 23, 109 f.
moṭa- (bundle) 111.
moṭaka- (pill) 143.
yaṣṭi- 80.
raṅka- 140 f.
raṅku- 141, 151.
raṇḍa- 80, 150.
raṇḍaka- 76, 79.
raṇḍā- 80.
rambate (*śabde*) 86.
runṭhati (steals) 135.
ruṇḍa- (mutilated) 101, 150 f.; (staff) 80.
ruṇḍati (steals) 135.
ruru- 105, 141 f, 151.
roḍati 117.
lakuṭa- 112, 127.
laguḍa- 112.
laṅkā- (slut) 126; (twig) 65.
laṅkhati 113.
laṅga- (lame) 113; (rake) 126.
laṅgati 113.
lañjā-, -ikā 80.
laṭ- (*bālye*) 116.
laṭa- (fool) 161.
laṭaka- (rascal) 80.
laṭa(b)ha- 114.
laṭṭa- 80.
laṭva- 116.
laḍ- (to fondle) 114 f.; (to dally) 116.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

laḍant- 114.
laḍaha- 99 n., 114 n.
laḍḍa- (rascal) 80.
laḍḍu(ka)- 34, 115.
lampaṭa- 113 f.
lampāka- (rake) 114.
lampāpaṭaha- 86.
lampha- (leap) 142.
lambara- (drum) 86.
lambā- (gherkin) 159.
lambāpaṭaha- 86.
lamb(h)ate (*śabde*) 86.
lal- (*ullālayati*) 161.
lal- (*īpsāyām*) 117; (to fondle, dally) 114 ff.
lalati 114, 116.
laśa- 64, 136.
laṣati 117 f.
laṣva- 116.
lasati 116.
Lahaḍa- 128 n
lākṣā- 162.
lāṅgala- 112, 127 f.
lāṅgūla- 112.
lāḍayati (*upa-*) 114.
lābu- 24.
lābukī- 26.
lālaka- 161.
lālayati 114.
lālasa- 118, 138.
lāsayati 116.
liṅga- 112.
liṅgati (limps) 113.
limpaṭa- 113.
limpāka- 84.
liṣva- (dancer) 116.
līlā- (charm) 116; (play) 116 n.
luṇṭayati (steals) 135.
luṇṭhayati (id.) 162.
luṇḍa(ya)ti (id.) 135.
luṣabha- 117.
lūṣati 135.
locaka- 161.
loṭati (is mad) 117 (cf. 161 l).
loḍati (id.) 117 (cf. 161 l).
lorāyati 116.
lol(up)a- 117.
loṣa(ya)ti (steals) 135.
vakra- 88.
vaṅku- 87.
vaṭ- (to wrap) 111.
vaṭa- (rope) 111.
vaṭ(ṭ)aka- (lump) 147.
vaṭ(āk)ara- (rope) 111.
vaṭārakā- (id.) 111.
vaṭin- 147.
vaṭī- (lump) 147.
vaṭhara- (bulky) 147; (dull) 96, 102.
vaḍā- (lump) 147.
vaḍiśa-, -ī- 94.
vaḍra- (big) 147.
vaṇati 32.
vaṇṭa- 80, 96.
vaṇṭha- 96, 105, 161.
vaṇṭhate 96, 105.
vaṇ(ḍ)- (to wrap) 111.
vadhri- 96 n.
vandhya- 96.
varaṇḍa- 163.
variśī- 94.
varkuṭa- (bolt) 15.
varvara- (curly) 31.
valiśa-, -ī- 94.
vāṇa- 34.
vāṇī- (reed) 34, 112; (voice) 32.
vātuli- (bat) 118 f., 120 n.
vānīra- 34.
vikala- (sad) 16 n.
viṭapa- 23.
vīṭikā- 32, 111.
vṛkala- (fragment) 49.
vṛnda-, -i- 163.
veṇi- 31 f., 110.
veṇu- 34.
vetra- 34.
voṭā- 99 f.
vruḍ- 163.
śakun(ṭ)a-, -i- 119 f.
śakvara- 121; *-ī* (girdle) 123.
śaṭā- 159.
śaṭha- 56.
śaṇṭha- 80.
śaṇḍha- 78, 80.
śama- (hornless) 105.
śamala- 36.
śambala- 136.
śarkarā- 121 f.
śarkarī- (girdle) 123.
śarkoṭa- 121.
śal(ā)ka- 79.
śalla(ka)- 79.
śāka- (herbs) 136, 156 n.
śākinī- 136.
śāva- 24 n., 67, 136.
śikhaṇḍa- 148.
śikhara- 148.
śikhā- 140, 148.
śithira- 160.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

śimba-, -i- 66 f.
śimbāta- 67.
śiri- (locust) 162.
śilpa- 79.
śiśira- 136 n.
śuṇṭha- 78, 149 ff.
śuṇṭhākarṇa- 97, 149.
śuṇḍā- (whore) 80; (trunk) 152 f.
śuṣi- (pit) 131.
śuṣira- 130, 162.
śṛṅkhalā- 122 ff., 125 f.
śṛṅgāra- (ornament) 125 f., 163; (love) 126.
śekhara- 148.
śoṭha- (lazy) 101 n., 134.
śopha- 18.
ṣaṅga- (rake) 126.
ṣaṇḍ(h)a- 80.
ṣiṅga- (rake) 126.
ṣiḍga- (id.) 126.
saṁghaṭṭa- 54.
saṁghāṭa- 54.
saṭā- (matted hair) 159; (multitude) 159.
saṇḍiśa- 95.
samutphāla- 160.
samudga- 145 f.
samūra-, -u- 105.
sambala- 136.
saraṇḍa- 163.
sāṇḍa- 163.
sāraṅga- 146 n.
sutintiḍī- 119, 135.
suruṅgā- 146 n.
suvenī- 31 f.
suṣira- 130, 162.
sūcikā- (trunk) 153.
sṛkaṇḍu- 161.
sṛṅkā- 122.
Sṛbinda- 161.
stimita- 71.
stimyati 71.
stepati 71.
sthaṇḍila- 160.
spandate 160.
sphāṭita- (torn) 60 n.
sphālayati (*ā-, saṁ-*) 64 n.
sphuṭ- 148.
sphuṭi- (melon) 144.
hamb(h)ā- 126 f.
hambhāyate 126.
hala- 127 f.
hāṭaka- 30, 93.
hāra- (necklace) 124.
hāla- 127.
hiṅgu- 66, 86.
hiñjīra- 111 n.
Hiḍimba- 26, 66, 86, 144.
hindolayati 66, 86, 160.
hillolayati 66.
huḍukka- 15.
humphā- (*-bh-*) 126.
heramba- (buffalo) 66, 86 n.; (boastful hero) 19, 66; (Gaṇeśa) 66.
Haihaya- 7.

PALI AND PRAKRIT.

(P. = Pali.)

P. *atimaṭāhaka-* 101.
apphaḍia- 60 n.
apphālei 60 n.
P. *abbuda-* 146.
P. *aḷāra-* 13.
P. *avaṇṭa-* 96.
P. *ahikuṇḍika-*, etc. 54 n.
āmela- 22.
āmoḍa- 22.
P. *āḷamba-* 86.
P. *ālambara-* 86.
āveḍa- 22 f.
P. *āveḷa-* 22.
ujjhiṅkia- 157.
upphāla- 160.
olimbhā- 68.
kacchara- 39, 139.
P. *kajjala-* 28 f.
kaḍaāllī- 29.
kaḍaya- 123.
P. *kappara-* 44.
P. *kabaḷikā-* 159.
kamandha- 100.
kambā-, -ī- 33.
P. *kalamba-* 27.
P. *kaḷopī-* 26.
kalavū- 24 n., 127 n.
kale(va)ra- 68.
P. *kavandha-* 100.
kassa- 39.
kāliā- 68.
kālimba- 68.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

kāva(da)- 33.
P. *kirāsa-* 136.
P. *kukkusa-* 160.
P. *kuṇḍ-ita-* 54.
P. *kuṇ-* 53.
P. *kuṇṭa-* 40, 112.
P. *kuṇṭha-* (cripple) 40, 53 f.; (blunt) 53 f.
P. *kuṇḍa-* (bent) 54.
P. *kuṇḍaka-* 160.
P. *kubbara-* 43.
P. *kumina-* 159.
P. Pkt. *kumbhaṇḍa-* 144.
P. *kuluṅka-* 45.
kuhaḍa- 44.
kuhaṇḍa- 144, (162).
koīlā- 47.
P. *koṇṭha-* (cripple) 53.
koppara- 44.
P. Pkt. *kolamba-* 26, 78, 145 n.
P. *kolāhala-* 159.
kolia- (spider) 47.
kollara- 26.
kohaṇḍa- 144, 162.
khaḍakkī- 15.
khaṇḍa- (pot) 56.
khallā- 159.
P. *khalopi-* 26.
khavaa- 44.
khavaḍiaṁ 53.
khiṅkhiṇī- 52.
P. Pkt. *khujja-* 42, 99 n.
khuṇḍayaṁ 53.
khummia- (bent) 42.
khoḍa- 53.
P. *gaggaraka-* (eddy) 159.
P. *gaggarāyate* (roars) 159.
P. *gaṇḍa-, -ī-* (stalk) 49 ff.
gaṇḍa- (barber) 159.
gāmeṇī- 112.
giḍḍiā- 49.
P. *geṇḍuka-* 51.
P. *ghaṭā-* 54.
P. *ghaṭikā-* (bolt?) 14; (stick) 78.
P. *ghaṭīyati* 14.
ghaḍiaghaḍā- 54.
ghaḍī- 54.
ghāḍa- (neck) 29.
ghurughuraī 159.
caḍa- (*śikhā*) 154.
candila- (*nāpitaḥ*) 78.
cappaī 58.
P. *camarī-* 161.
campaī 58.
caviḍā- 59.
caveḍī- 59.
cavelā- 59.
cāḍa- (deceitful) 56.
P. *cippiyamāna-* 58.
cimiḍha- 23, 57, 59, (135).
ciminā- 112.
cilāda- 162.
cilla- (child) 99, 152, 163.
civiḍ(h)a- 57.
cihura- 149 n.
P. *cumbaṭa(ka)-* 145 n.
P. Pkt. *culla-* 152.
P. *cūḷa-* (small) 152; (protuberance) 154.
ceḍa- 99, 152.
cola- 152.
chaḍā- (multitude) 62.
P. *chaḍḍeti* 81.
chappaṇṇa- 124 n.
challī- 79.
P. *chava-* (vile) 112 n.
P. *chāpa(ka)-* 67, 136.
chāva(a)- 67, 136.
chiḍḍa- 154.
chiṇḍa- 154.
chillara- 139.
chillī- 154.
cheṇḍa-, -ā- 154.
chollaī 79.
jaṅgā- 140.
jaḍia- 63.
jambāla- 60 f.
P. *jalla-* 139.
jhakkia- 157.
jhaṅkara- 140.
jharua- 162.
jhāḍa- 63.
jhāruā- 135, 162.
jhiṅkia- 157.
jhusira- 130, 162.
jhūsi(y)a- 161.
jhoḍa- 63.
ṭaṅka- (shore) 140; (leg) 156.
ṭaṭṭiā- 62.
ṭamara- 31.
ṭāra- 150.
P. *ṭuṇṭa-* 150.
ṭūvara- 75.
ṭekkara- 148.
ṭhalla- (poor) 80, 98, 142.
ṭhuṇṭha- (stump) 150.
P. *ḍāka-* (herbs) 136, 156 n.
ḍikkarūva- 141.
ḍuṅgara- 149.
ḍekkarūva- 141.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

ḍāḍhiā- 63.
ḍālā-, -ī- 64.
P. *ḍiṇḍima-* 85.
ḍiṁphiaṁ 62.
ḍimbha(ka)- 66.
ḍuṇḍuha- 68.
ḍubbanta- 62.
ḍumba- 87.
ḍora- 31.
ḍhaṁkuṇa- 41.
ḍhilla- 160.
ḍheṁkuṇa- 41.
ḍhella- 80, 98, 142.
ṇaḍ(ḍ)ulī- 124 n.
ṇanda- 81.
ṇandaṇa- (servant) 81, 152.
ṇiaḷa- 124
ṇijjhara- 161.
ṇijjhūra- 161.
ṇimcla- 146.
P. *taṭṭikā-* 62.
taṭṭī- 62.
taḍapphaḍaī 73 n.
talla- (pond) 139.
P. *tintiḍikā-* 135.
P. *tintiṇī-* 135.
timmadi 71.
P. *tuliya-* (bat) 161.
P. *teṭṭika-* 62.
teḍḍa- (cricket) 135.
P. *temana-* 72.
P. *thaṇḍila-* 160.
thippaī 71.
thuḍa- (trunk) 150, 160.
P. *thusa-* 99.
thūṇa- (horse) 150; (thief) 162.
theva- 71.
P. *datta-, -u-* (stupid) 161.
P. *daddabha-* 86.
P. *dandha-* (slow) 101, 161.
P. *dabhakkaṁ* 86.
davara- 31, 131.
P. *dāṭhikā-* (beard) 63.
dāra- 31.
P. *dālima-* 83.
P. *dindima-* 85.
dukkha- 149, 155.
duttha- 155.
P. *duddabha-* 86.
P. *dudrabhi-* 86.
P. *deḍḍubha(ka)-* 68.
P. *deṇḍima-* 85.
dora- 31, 131.
P. *naṅgala-* 124 n., 127.
P. *nigaḷa-* 124.
P. Pkt. *paṅgu-* 87.
P. *pakkha-* (cripple) 88.
pacchī- 143.
P. *paṭaṅga-* 89.
paṭoa- 99.
paḍḍa- 91.
paḍḍalā- 89.
paḍḍuā- 89.
P. *paṇava-* 88.
P. *paṇḍaka-* 97.
pattharā- 89.
P. *papphāsa-* 146 n.
piṇḍaliaṁ 143.
piṇḍīra- 84.
P. *piḷakā-* 143.
P. *pillaka-* 100.
P. *puṭaka-* (bag) 111.
P. *puṭoli-* 111.
pu(ṇ)ḍaīaṁ 143.
pejjāla- 147.
peḍhāla- 147.
peṇḍa- (piece) 99.
peṇḍaa- 97, 99.
peṇḍabālaṁ 143.
peṇḍaliaṁ 143.
pedaṇḍa- 78, 92.
P. *peḷa-* 143 f.
perullī- 143.
poaṇḍa- 159.
P. *poṅkh'ānupoṅkhaṁ* 90.
poṭṭa- (belly) 145, 155.
poṭṭala- 111.
P. *poṭ(h)a-* (bubble) 107.
P. *poṭha-* (poor) 98.
P. *poṭheti* (strikes) 146 n.
pottaa- 147.
P. *pottha-* 98.
P. *potheti* 146 n.
phandaī 160.
phiṭṭaī 100.
phiḍḍa- (dwarf) 99 f.
phuṇṭā- 23.
phuraphurāadi 160.
P. *pheggu-* 100.
P. Pkt. *pheṇa-* 163.
phella- (poor) 98, 101.
P. *phoṭa(ka)-* (boil) 148.
P. *bakkula-* 94.
babbarī- 31.
bamāla- 73.
bahala- 16 n., 127 n.
biṇṭa- 32.
P. *biḷālī-* 147.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

P. *bubbula(ka)-* 107.
bulambulā- 107.
belī- (post) 98.
boḍa- (shaven) 97; (young man) 99.
boḍḍana- 163.
boṇḍa- 163.
bodara- 147.
bodraha- 99.
bondī- (body) 163.
bola- 74.
bollaī 33.
P. *bhaṭṭha-* 32.
bhaṇḍa- 96, 101.
P. *bhaṇḍati* 33.
P. Pkt. *bhaṇḍu-* 96, 103.
bhambhala- 161.
P. *bhāṇaka-* 162 f.
bhuttūṇa- 99.
bhuruṇḍiā- 151 n.
P. *bhusa-* 98 f.
P. *bheṇḍu(ka)-* 143.
P. *bheraṇḍaka-* 151 n.
bherūṇḍa- 151 n.
bhelī- 99.
bhoruḍa- 151 n.
maïla- 37.
maüra- 109.
maülī- 16.
P. *makkaṭa(ka)-* 47.
makkaḍabandha- 47, 123.
makkoḍa-, -ā- 47.
macca- 38.
mañca- 111 n.
maṭṭa- (hornless) 41, 101.
maṭṭha- (lazy) 102.
maḍapphara- 19.
maḍahaṁ 101.
maṇṭa- 111 n.
mayala- 37.
marāla- 102.
malampia- 19.
P. *masāraka-* 145.
P. *masūraka-* 145.
miñcana- 135, (148).
miṁdha- 109.
P. *mugga-* 146.
P. *muṭoli-* 111.
muṇḍā- (deer) 105.
P. *muṭoḷī-* 111.
murumuṇḍa- 23.
P. *muḷāla-, -ī-* 83.
musahaṁ 39.
meḍḍha- 109.
meṁṭhī- 109.
P. *meṇḍ-* 110.
meṇḍ(h)a- 109.
moḍa- 22.
rikkaṁ 141.
ruṇḍa- 150 f.
rokkaṇī 149, 163.
roghasa- 140.
roṅkaṇa- 140.
rora- 141, 151.
P. *lakuṇṭaka-* 40, 112.
laṭṭha- 114 f.
P. *laṭṭhaka-* 115.
laḍaha- 114.
laḍḍu- 115.
P. *lal-* 117.
P. *laḷ-* (*upalāḷeti*) 114.
lallaṁ 118.
P. *lāla-* 161.
liṭṭia- 115.
liṁka- 141.
P. *līḷ(h)ā-* 116.
lumbī- 27.
leḍukha- 117.
P. *loḷa-* 117.
lolaṇṭia- 115.
lhasaī 64 n.
P. *vaṅka-* 94.
vaṅga- 87.
P. *vañjha-* 96.
P. *vaṭaka-* (bulb) 147.
P. *vaṭākara-* 111.
P. *vaṭṭi-* (lump) 147.
P. *vaṭhara-* (bulb) 147.
vaḍḍa- 147.
vaṇṭha- 96, 99.
vaṇḍha- (fetter) 111.
P. *vatta-* (cripple) 96.
P. *varaka-* 147.
valla- 99.
viḍḍira- 147.
viṇṭā- 32.
viṇṭaī 32.
velā- (gums) 146.
P. *veḷu-* 34, 83.
voḍa- 97.
vodraha- 99.
voraccha- 99.
sakkara- (gravel, sugar) 122.
saṅk(h)alā- 123.
P. *saṭa-* (heap) 159.
saḍhila- 160.
P. *saṇḍāsa-* 95 n.
saṁdaṭṭa(ya)- 62.
P. *samugga-* 146.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

sigga- 141.
siṅkhalā- 123.
siṁga(a)- 141.
siḍhila- 160.
silimba- 67.
halabola- 16 n., 74.
halahala- 18.
P. *halāhala-* 159.
heramba- (drum, buffalo) 66, 86.
Herimba- 66.

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ii

CC.0 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

Vidya Niwas Mishra Collection, Varanasi. Courtesy. Dayanidhi Mishra ji